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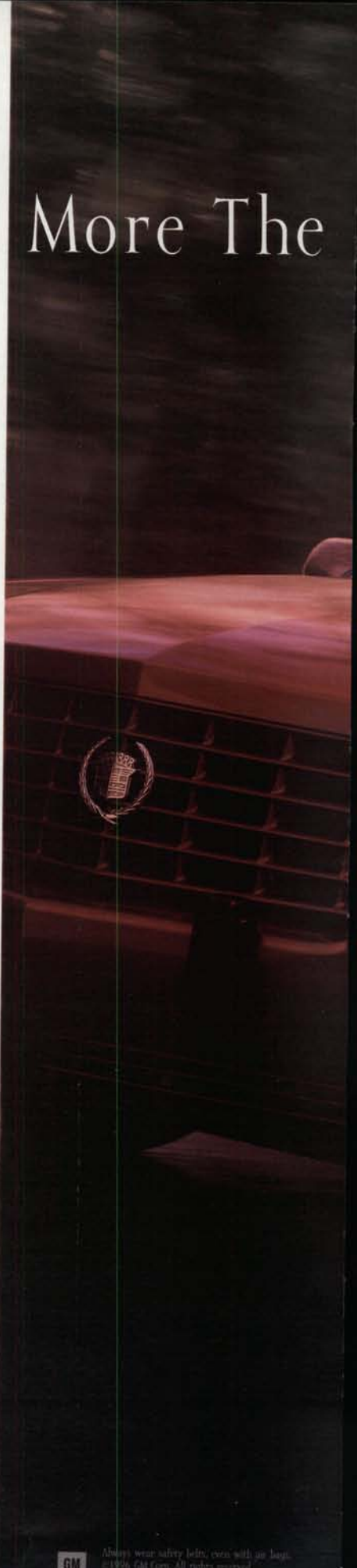

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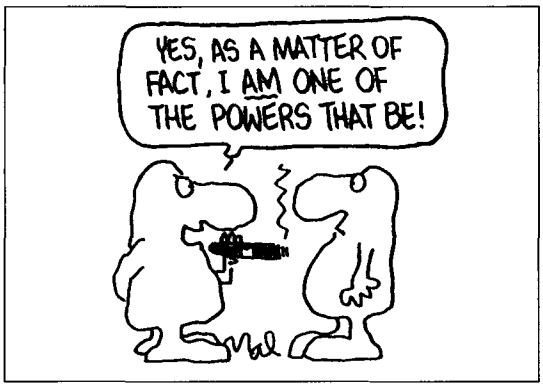

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LETTERS

Overcoming the Death of God

Patrick Glynn ["Beyond the Death of God," May 6] argues in a scientific arena yet rejects falsifiability, an essential of the scientific method. Because any outcome can have an infinite number of non-falsifiable explanations, none are relevant.

Faith will keep God alive, but He will dwell beyond the reach of science.

Vern Smith
Tustin, Calif.

The elusive search for scientific proof of the Divine is destined to remain unsatisfying. Something not to forget is that value exists in believing despite the lack of material evidence. Faith has its own rewards—rewards more imbued with Grace than one can ever acquire from academic validation.

Keith Martin
Redan, Ga.

Theologians and scientists who find no trace of supernatural activity in the universe, and posit chance or contingency, have discovered but not recognized an arena where God may operate without their wise criticism. Could it be that, after all, His ways are past finding out?

Robert Wm. Hess
Homestead, Fla.

Constitutional Preferences

Terry Eastland's response ["Not Our Quotas," May 20] to our charge in the same issue that Republicans are responsible for racial quotas illustrates the difficulty Republicans experience in opposing quotas while supporting the judicial assault on self-rule that put them in place. In Mr. Eastland's case, he paradoxically criticizes *Brown* v. *Board of Education* as a ruling based in sociology, not in constitutional law, yet writes that "*Brown* has been justly hailed as a great decision." If *Brown* has a sociological and not a legal basis, how can it be "a great decision"? *Brown* led to the judicial takeover of cities and usurpation of the power of the purse.

In contrast to his response to us, Eastland says in his book *Ending Affirmative Action* that "the real story" of 12 years of Reagan and Bush "was the persistence and expansion of affirmative action in employment, through which Title VII experienced a further deformation." Our point is that Reagan–Bush civil-rights officials were active participants in a new assault on self-rule that gave us judicially imposed taxation and the imposition of racial gerrymandering, supermajorities, and cumulative voting. This assault on self-rule is farther reaching than employment and admissions quotas. Eastland's assertion that a Dukakis Administration would have done worse is not a justification for the Republicans' expansion of racial quotas.

In denying Republican paternity of quotas, Eastland denies established fact. In *Beyond Peace*, Nixon wrote: "In 1969, my Administration put into effect the Philadelphia Plan." Laurence Silberman, then Labor Undersecretary, later confessed in the *Wall Street Journal* that with the Philadelphia Plan "we launched what I have come to see as a fundamentally unsound policy," and that they went on to spread Philadelphia Plans "across the country like Johnny Appleseed."

If Republicans stood firmly for color-blind law, they would have no reason to create diversions, such as the allegation that blacks are stigmatized by quotas. Unlike this argument, there is nothing imprecise about our proposal to end preferences by enacting the *Hopwood* ruling as a federal statute. It would be a reaffirmation of the color-blind requirement missing in the *Croson* and *Adarand* decisions.

In our article we don't attack anyone's motives, but we do insist that Republicans cannot, without hypocrisy, support *Brown* and *Yonkers* on the one hand and judicial restraint on the other. Neither can they support "disparate impact" and call for the end of quotas.

Paul Craig Roberts
Lawrence M. Stratton
Washington, D.C.

Messrs. Roberts and Stratton persist in their erroneous (as history shows) belief that Republicans alone are responsible for preferences. Ending Affirmative Action *contains the sentence Roberts and Stratton quote, but it also has a more comprehensive one they ignore: "The creation, development, and consolidation of affirmative action was a bipartisan affair, with Republicans less than Democrats contributing to its establishment."*

Including me in their indictment of Republicans (I served in the Reagan Administration), Roberts and Stratton say that I support "the judicial assault on self-rule." My sin, apparently, is that I have called Brown *a great decision. But, like so many others—Republicans and Democrats—I have also criticized the justification the Court offered in* Brown. *There is nothing paradoxical about that. It is possible to agree with the result in a given case and to criticize or even reject its rationale. So I have done with respect to* Brown, *my position being that the decision should have been grounded in the Constitution, not in the vagaries of social science.*

Roberts and Stratton approve of Hopwood, *though it is entirely possible that they will drop their support once they see that the ruling (handed down by Republican-nominated judges!) does not completely embrace "the color-blind requirement" they think it does.* —TE

Patriotic Markets

A few points on John O. McGinnis's "Restraining Leviathan" [March 11]: National federalism is fundamentally different from "world" federalism. When trade takes place within the U.S., all the benefits are captured. If a factory moves from Ohio to Georgia, the redistribution of wealth affects those locales, but imposes no net loss to the nation. This is not the case when wealth is redistributed across national borders. A new factory in Malaysia does not compensate the U.S. for a loss of one in Ohio. The argument that such redistribution improves "world" welfare is fallacious because there is no "world" in any meaningful sense.

Mr. McGinnis is right about individuals' identifying with their nations. It's the transnational corporations that do not. If the slogan "democratic capitalism" has any real meaning, it is incompatible with "free trade." Democracy is about politics, which is still conducted on a territorial/nation-state basis. In contrast, free trade rejects the legitimacy of sovereign nations; the "invisible hand" waves no particular flag. Business interests which tear up their national roots cannot expect kind treatment by those who still feel the wholesome tug of patriotism.

William R. Hawkins
Washington, D.C.

Salvation at Any Cost?

Dianne Clements ["Letters," May 6] credits the death penalty as leading to Matthew Poncelet's salvation in the movie *Dead Man Walking*. If, in the face of death, Poncelet still hadn't reached this spiritual condition, I wonder if Mrs. Clements would have advocated torture. Perhaps pulling out a fingernail or two might have helped him see the light.

Bop Kippley
Our Lady of Grace
Minot, N.D.

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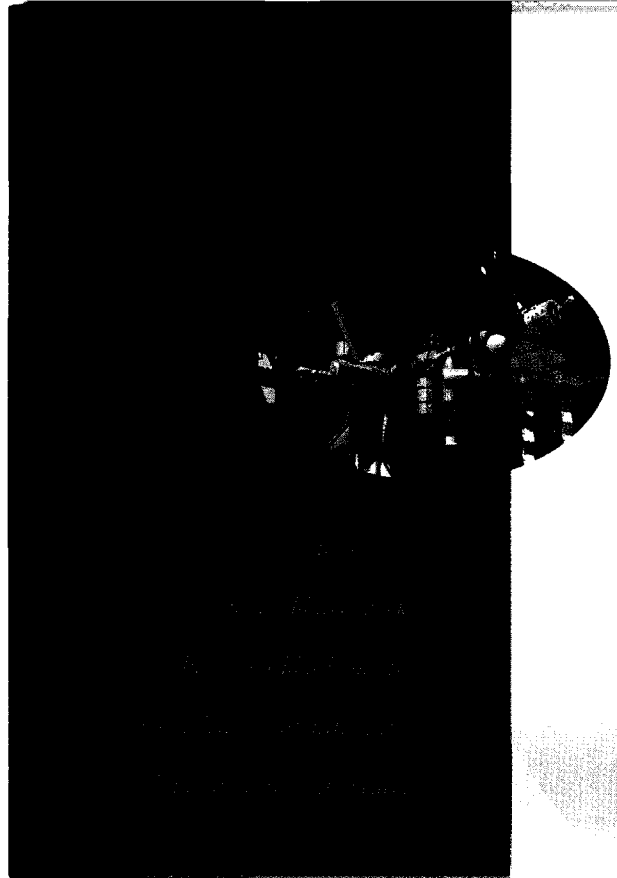

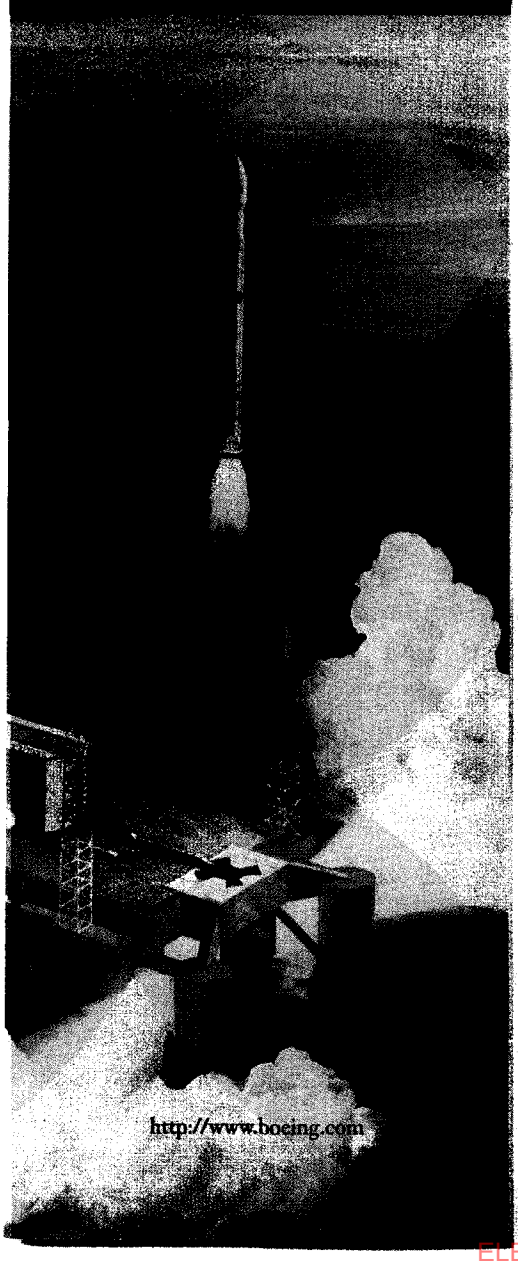

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There are challenges too great for one country to overcome. There are opportunities so important they must be shared. Today, America, Russia and eleven other countries are working together to build the International Space Station. Companies from Norway, Ukraine, Russia and the U.S. are developing an affordable launch system to deliver critical satellites into orbit. And NATO, Saudi Arabia, Japan and America are cooperating across borders in using an airborne warning system to increase security around the globe. These accomplishments prove that we can use technology to make a better world. But more importantly, they prove that we can work together.

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FROM THE EDITOR

Image Making

■ When liberal media pundits discuss liberal media bias, connoisseurs of self-deception whet their lips in anticipation.

Our favorite example is that of the *Washington Post* editor who announced that henceforward, to avoid political bias, he would not vote. But his opinions will not disappear merely because they are denied expression in the voting booth. They will merely go about in disguise.

A close second, however, is Miss Elaine Povitch, co-author of *Partners and Adversaries: The Contentious Connection between Congress and the Media*, a study of 139 Washington-based news-bureau chiefs and congressional correspondents, polled by the Freedom Foundation and the Roper Center, neither of them bastions of the Right.

The survey confirms all previous surveys in finding that Washington media folk are not merely disproportionately liberal, but wildly so. Thus, 89 per cent voted for Bill Clinton in 1992, with Mr. Bush getting a mere 7 per cent; are registered Democrats, compared to 4 per cent who are registered Republicans; and 11 times as many call themselves "liberal" as call themselves "conservative."

The fallback is that while reporters may embrace liberalism in the privacy of their own homes, they would never allow it to influence their journalism. Miss Povitch duly trotted it out: "One of the things about being a professional is that you attempt to leave your personal feelings aside as you do your work," she told the *Washington Times* (to whose droll account we are indebted).

Alas, the attempt is plainly unsuccessful. An example drily noted by the *Times*: although 82 per cent of Republicans voted for the term-limits amendment, compared to only 19 per cent of Democrats, twice as many network stories blamed the GOP for the amendment's failure to pass.

Searching for some exculpatory explanation, Miss Povitch produced this classic of self-deception: "More people who are of a liberal persuasion go into reporting simply because they believe in the ethics and ideals . . ." whereas conservatives go to Wall Street.

So, liberals are idealistic and conservatives into Greed, eh? Miss Povitch doubtless does not regard these characterizations as bias, or even as opinion—it's simply, well, the way things are. And if 89 per cent of your colleagues feel the same way, few of them are likely to notice that the network's or newspaper's reports reflect such bias.

Of course, some highly self-critical editors will notice—and sternly insist that they appear only under the heading of "Analysis."

■ My life is a retiring one: doing the Trans-O-Gram after a light supper is my idea of a good time. Every now and then, however, *NR*'s resident scamp, Taki, invites me to hit the high spots.

That was how I came to be sitting in Pravda, New York's latest haunt for night-owls, at 2.30 A.M. last Sunday, with a glamorous Swedish artist on my left, an exotic Russian poetess on my right, a vodka stinger in one hand and a Turkish cigarette in the other. (I have wanted to try a Turkish cigarette ever since I was told that in the 1930s the Smart Set would offer a choice of tobaccos with the blasé words: "Turks on the right, Virgins on the Left.")

Through the haze, I could see someone gazing at me in astonishment. He approached, taking in the general air of jagged sophistication that enveloped me.

"John O'Sullivan?" he asked disbelievingly.

I waved a nonchalant Turkish cigarette: "The very same."

It was a former *NR* colleague, now bearded and thus not easily recognizable. But the charm of the moment was that he had happened upon me in wildly unfamiliar circumstances which nonetheless I would like the world to think I inhabit with an easy gliding familiarity.

It wasn't a perfect moment, of course. He wasn't my worst enemy.

—JOHN O'SULLIVAN

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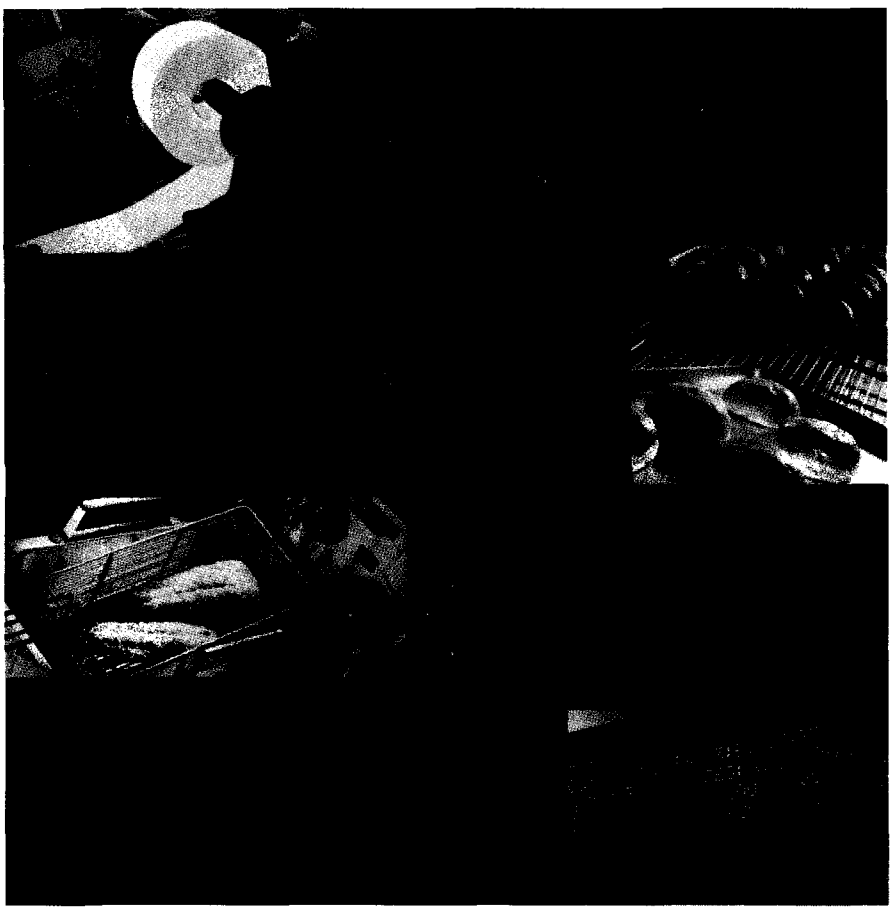

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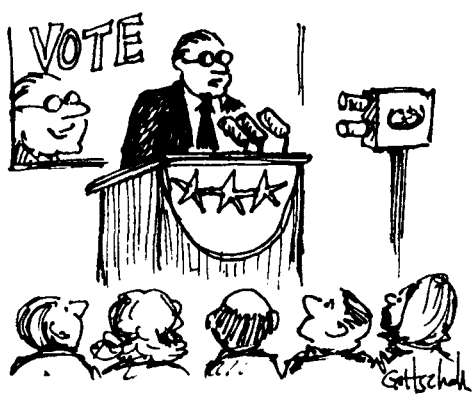
FOR THE RECORD

■ With six months to go before elections, recriminations have already begun on the Republican side, with **Al D'Amato** zinging **Newt Gingrich**, **Dick Armey**, and **Pat** and **Bay Buchanan** as "philosophical ayatollahs" (see Capital Scene). Responds Armey: "I would be thrilled if Al D'Amato would get in touch with the Republican message." RNC Chairman **Haley Barbour** tells GOPers at weekly lunch: "We've got to stop criticizing each other in public. If anyone here has a problem with me or anyone else in the conference, we should address it privately." Barbour took care to name no names himself. . . . Rep. **Charles Rangel** (D., N.Y.) expects his party to take back Congress: "The Republicans are even joking about it, calling people 'Mr. Chairman' and saying, 'It's been a wonderful two years. Remember that I was nice to you.'" But Senate Minority Leader **Tom Daschle** warns, "We can't be overconfident. Only the paranoid survive." . . . **Paul Gigot** calls the Democrats who are likely to be House committee chairmen if Congress switches hands "a Murderer's Row of 1960s liberals."

■ Social issues show no sign of going away. Log Cabin Republicans, a group of homosexual GOPers, issues press release titled "**Dole** Co-Sponsorship of Anti-Gay Marriage Legislation Is Taking GOP Down Disastrous Houston Road: Dole repeating mistakes which led to '92 loss." Says Log Cabin head **Richard Tafel**: "The intolerant wing of the Republican Party is rearing it's [*sic*] ugly head again. What Dole is missing here is he already enjoys deep support among religious conservatives"—which will be news to all concerned. . . . Sen. **Daniel Patrick Moynihan** (D., N.Y.) tells *New York Post* he will vote to override **Bill Clinton**'s veto of partial-birth-abortion ban: "I think this is just too close to infanticide. A child has been born and it has exited the uterus and what on Earth is this procedure?" . . . *The Hill* reports that "pro-life Democrats are quietly preparing a battle of their own to remove or at least soften the pro-choice language of their party's platform," notes that more than forty Dems in House consistently vote pro-life, "roughly the same number as Republicans considered pro-choice." . . . Rep. **Jim Bunning** (R., Ky.) writes to Clinton "to express my gratitude for your apparent change of heart" on transracial adoption—as Arkansas governor, he signed a bill that made it harder.

■ Politicians lay down their markers in foreign policy. Immediate debate concerns extension of normal trading status (misleadingly called Most Favored Nation status) for China, with coalition of protectionists and social conservatives led by Pat Buchanan opposing extension. Opposition to MFN is new departure for commentator/candidate, who wrote in June 1991: "Argued from U.S. national interests, Mr. **Bush** makes a powerful case. The corrupt old men of Peking will not suffer from sanctions; it is the entrepreneurs of South China, the workers, and the people of Hong Kong whose prosperity hangs on that trade." . . . Bob Dole agrees with Pres. Clinton on MFN for China, but issues slashing attack on Clinton's foreign policy: "He is following an old adage. If you don't know where you're going, all roads lead there." Talking to North Korea about banning nuclear proliferation, he says, is like discussing religious toleration with Hezbollah.

■ On Tax Freedom Day, American Conservative Union endorses repeal of Sixteenth Amendment. "ACU is preparing to buckle down for the long haul," says chairman **David Keene**. . . . N.J. Senate race turns nasty. Republican **Dick Zimmer** on Democrat (and fellow congressman) **Robert Torricelli**: "If he thinks it's okay to have a fundraiser at the home of a convicted felon, the public ought to know about it." Torricelli, meanwhile, accuses Zimmer of accepting campaign money from a man allegedly connected to the Las Vegas mob. . . . **Richard DuHaime**, conservative challenger to Zimmer, calls on Sen. D'Amato to resign as chairman of National Republican Senatorial Committee for his attacks on Gingrich. . . . **John E. Sununu**—son of former Bush chief-of-staff and current *Crossfire* co-host—runs for Congress from New Hampshire.



"Well, now! If I really were 'just one of you folks,' I wouldn't be running for President, would I?"

■ Rout of Prime Minister **P. V. Narasimha Rao**'s 111-year-old Congress Party will slow India's economic liberalization. **Afal Vajpayee**'s Hindu traditionalist BJP party, with the largest vote, is nominally pro-business, but it and Congress Party now will have to bargain with minor and regional parties to form governing coalition, with subsidies and trade barriers as chips. . . . Israeli Prime Minister **Shimon Peres**'s fate in new system of direct election could turn on whether Arabs (10 per cent of voters) go through with threatened boycott. Two Arab members and one Communist gave the **Rabin**–Peres government a parliamentary majority. One issue is Likud leader **Benjamin Netanyahu**'s charge of a secret plan to partition Jerusalem. . . . **Lu Ping**, head of Peking's Hong Kong and Macao Affairs Office, stirs worries during visit to Hong Kong with comment that after takeover all ethnic-Chinese residents, whatever their passports, would be considered China's citizens. . . . Warning that new constitution means Pres. **Nelson Mandela**'s African National Congress has opted for simple majority rule, former Prime Minister **F. W. de Klerk** takes National Party out of government coalition, originally planned to last until 1999 elections. . . . **Fidel Castro** told umbrella trade-union group that if Cuba could not stamp out prostitution, "We will not be able to win the battle for the survival of the revolution."

■ At Dem fundraiser, **Al Gore** tells **Robin Williams** he liked his character Mrs. Doubtfire: "That grim expression, those frumpy old clothes, that ghastly make-up—oh, I'm sorry, I was thinking of the Republican response to the State of the Union address."

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THE WEEK

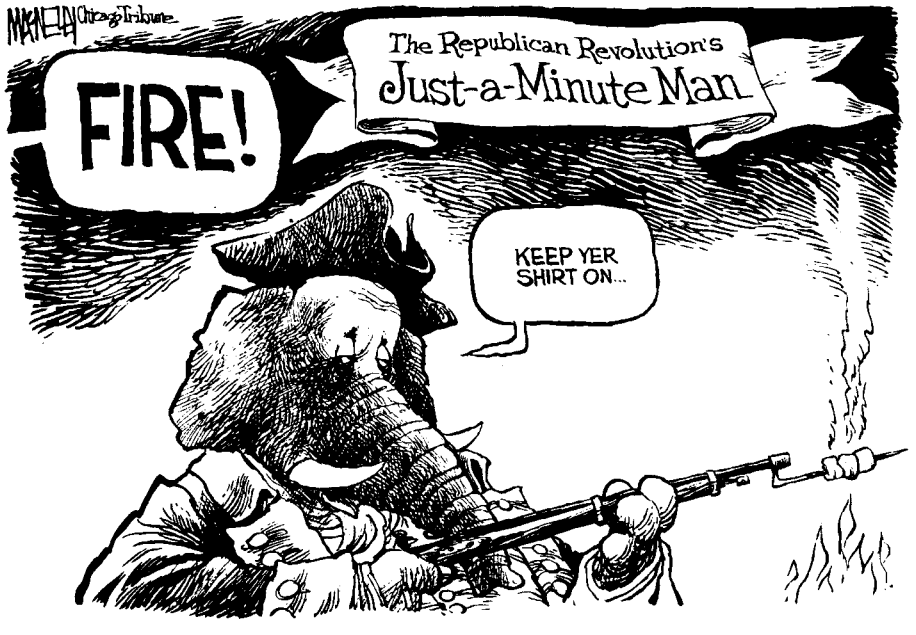
■ District of Columbia Mayor Marion Barry spent a week at a Maryland retreat to "engage in a program of spiritual and physical renewal." He was not missed. During the Barry years, taxes soared while services plummeted (except insofar as patronage, divvied among the mayor's numerous supporters, was a service). Congress finally had to put the District's affairs under a financial control board. Barry, a recovering drug addict, said his vacation was necessary to prevent a relapse. More likely, the District's relapse into some honest government has been too stressful.

■ In the shadowy world of spin and furtive self-promotion that is the race to be Bob Dole's running-mate, Ohio Gov. George Voinovich has until recently been on the upswing. Voinovich is popular, Catholic, and from a state rich in electoral votes. Just one problem: he is lacking in conservative hormones. Voinovich recently confessed he just didn't understand why Republicans would try to repeal Clinton's gas-tax increase ("If the deficit is such a problem, how can you be arguing to reduce the gas tax . . . ?") There's a lot Voinovich doesn't get: he recently proposed re-instating a one-cent tax on soft drinks even after Ohio voters had repealed it; he floated a gas-tax increase after his 1994 re-election; he defends racial preferences, and doggedly resists attempts to require a supermajority in the legislature for passing tax increases. Dole would do better to look to California, where both Attorney General Dan Lungren and Rep. Chris Cox are intelligent, energetic, and conservative. Go West, mature man.

■ What to make of Felix Rohatyn, long known as a zero-sum economics man and advocate of industrial policy? His lengthy paean to economic growth, published in the *Wall Street Journal*, could have been written by an RNC staffer. At 2 per cent to 2.5 per cent per year, economic growth is woefully inadequate. Cut capital-gains tax rates. Restrain entitlement growth. Balance the budget in order to satisfy financial markets. Do all this, says Mr. Rohatyn, and we'd tack one percentage point onto the national growth rate, add millions of new jobs, and halt the sickening decline of living standards for those at the bottom of income distribution. Election-year epiphanies are always a bit suspect. (We fully expect the Clinton administration to pre-empt Republican tax-cut efforts with a proposal of its own.) But Rohatyn's musings seem genuine. "As a traditional Democrat," he wrote, "I have always believed that freedom, fairness, and wealth, basic to modern democracy, required an essentially redistributionist philosophy . . . The experience of the last two decades . . . has very much shaken that view. Fairness does not require the redistribution of wealth; it requires the creation of wealth . . ." Perhaps he is aware of what fellow Austrian Friedrich Hayek wrote in 1944: "We are ready to accept almost any explanation of the present crisis . . . except one: that the present state of the world may be the result of genuine error on our part."

■ As we write, O. J. Simpson is addressing the Oxford Union. The format calls for him to speak for ten minutes, then answer questions. The Union, in its 175 years, has sponsored guests who are conversant with the subject they address. Normally, they debate a proposition, but there were no invitations issued, as far as we know, to Marcia Clark or Christopher Darden, to argue the only subject on which Mr.Simpson is qualified to speak, namely how to kill a woman and her walking companion in Los Angeles, leave traces vivid enough to light up the Empire State Building, and appear two years later as a guest of the Oxford Union. The *New York Post* reporter advises that "British police [at the airport] mounted a massive security operation at public expense to protect Simpson after his request that his bodyguards carry guns was turned down." On the subject of the usefulness of guns O. J. is also an expert. Proceeding without them can leave an awful mess.

■ "We're leaner, meaner, and going nowhere fast." Economists "don't really know" why. And it has been that way for more than two decades, says *New York Times* economic reporter Louis Uchitelle. Two decades? Well yes, economic growth over the past 25 years has averaged 2.5 per cent per annum, compared to 4.4 per cent for the



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prior quarter-century. (Had we maintained the earlier rate, per-capita income would be $10,000 higher today.) But economic stagnation is hardly, as Uchitelle claims, a poorly understood fact of modern life. After all, real GDP grew by one-third from the end of 1982 through 1989. The principal stimulus, most economists say, was the decline in marginal tax rates; letting taxpayers keep more of each added dollar gave them more reason to work and produce. But that wasn't all. This period also saw less government interference in business—evidenced by a 50 per cent decline in the number of pages of federal regulations issued between 1981 and 1989. And a generally less expansive government: federal spending fell from 23.3 per cent of GDP in 1981 to 21.3 per cent in 1989. Since 1989 all these vectors have reversed. Private employers are feverishly downsizing and investing in new equipment. This strategy will eventually deliver a higher standard of living—when the government lets it.

■ Gay-rights activists are about to consummate their Hawaiian gambit. This summer, state judge Kevin Chang is expected to hold, in the case of *Baehr* v. *Lewin*, that anti-sex-discrimination language in the state's constitution makes it illegal for Hawaii to refuse marriage licenses to gay couples. Under the "full faith and credit" clause of the Constitution, every other state in the Union might be forced to recognize gay marriages sanctioned by Hawaii. In a counter-gambit, Rep. Bob Barr (R., Ga.) and Sen. Don Nickles (R., Okla.) are pushing a marriage-defense bill that would free states from the requirement of honoring same-sex marriages sanctioned in other states, and that defines marriage, for the purposes of federal law, as union between a man and a woman. Not exactly radical stuff. President Clinton is already distancing himself from same-sex marriages. But the bill still puts him in a tight spot. Does he side with his cultural Left or with the vast majority of Americans? Clinton's partial-birth veto suggests the former, which should give voters yet another reason to sue for divorce in the fall.

■ The U.S. has nondiscriminatory (i.e., normal) trading relations with 150-odd countries, which go under the misleading name of "most-favored-nation" (MFN) status. Renewing MFN for China was controversial two years ago, when Tiananmen Square was fresh in people's minds. MFN is now up for renewal again, and is no less controversial this time; added to China's human-rights problems are its sales of nuclear material to various rogue states and its attempt to intimidate Taiwan. But denying MFN is a crude weapon; it would, among other things, devastate Hong Kong's economy. Bob Dole has committed himself to supporting the Administration in seeking renewal. Denying MFN, he says, "would not free a single dissident, halt a single missile sale, prevent a single threat to Taiwan, or save a single innocent life." Quite right.

■ One hundred twenty-five years ago, Pope Pius IX attacked the government of united Italy and considered himself a "prisoner in the Vatican." But Pope John Paul II now defends "the beloved Italian nation" against the separatists of the Northern League. If present trends continue, Republican welfare reformers can expect good words from the National Conference of Catholic Bishops early in the twenty-second century.

■ You know how some people study every syllable uttered by a maximum leader, to try to detect a wind in motion? *What did you make of that reference by Franco to Don Juan?*—that he would be appointed successor? *What did you make of that dangling participle in Ralph Reed's mention of abortion and the Republican plank?*—that a compromise was in order? Well, *we* are that way with the *New York Times*, the ideological Bureau of Weights and Measures. For forty years we've waited to hear the *Times* refer to somebody or something as "ultra liberal." Not yet, but get this! In a book review last week, Dorothy Gallagher was permitted to get away with a reference to "the Rosenberg case" in the context of espionage activity. That is thunderous stuff, suggesting that indeed the Rosenbergs were guilty (they were of course, and everybody has known it for a generation, but the other side hasn't capitulated). More, the reviewer refers to the Institute of Pacific Relations, the snuggery in which Owen Lattimore operated, in a context that clearly suggests he was engaged in subversive activity. Remember Joe McCarthy? He said that Lattimore was his do-or-die case. Lattimore loyalists were as outspoken as the Hiss people. What we have seen is a cataclysmic move.

■ On the evening of May 12, St. Patrick's Cathedral in New York accommodated a Tridentine Mass, standard in Catholicism from the sixteenth-century Council of Trent until 1963, when Vatican II supplanted it with a new Mass, in the vernacular. Trent represented a largely successful effort to consolidate and regularize Catholic practice in the teeth of doctrinal gales blowing down from Germany and Geneva. Many today see the Latin Mass as a symbol of resistance to the corrosions of modern culture. In his solemn high Mass that morning John Cardinal O'Connor expressed surprise that the Tridentine Mass scheduled for that evening was being viewed by the press as a gesture of discontent within the Church. He professed to see it, rather, as an authorized, indeed normal, occurrence. Yet St. Patrick's has high visibility and, until now, no Tridentine Masses. The celebration was done by Alfons Cardinal Stickler, a visiting cardinal of curial rank. In the evening, Cardinal O'Connor termed it "historic." Four thousand worshippers filled the cathedral. It is difficult to avoid the impression that some vectors may indeed be shifting, and that some of the faithful may be tiring of the John–Jane–Gyp English of the awful contemporary translations.

■ The *Dartmouth Review* is on a roll, under the editorship of James S. Panero, a sophomore, no less. The editorial

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writing is clear, clean, and bright. The rebellious flavor is sui generis sophomore, and can be just plain fun, as witness the latest fusillade at the expense of the arch-enemy, Mr. Freedman, president of Dartmouth. . . . A half-page ad. *Collegium Dartmuthens/In Aqua Vitae Conditum A.D. 1770* (a huge wine barrel with roisterers on all sides). Then in huge boldface: "How much would you contribute in exchange for James Freedman's resignation? / Please fill out this form, cut it out and mail it to: The Committee to Save Dartmouth, P.O. Box 5077, Hanover, N.H. 03755." Boys will be, and should be, boys. Crossing the fun-line, however, is a review of the tormented president's latest column. "If I wrote this way on my class papers, I'd surely fail out of Dartmouth. I am curious now to speak to Freedman in person. I bet he talks with his eyes crossed, or drools . . ." Icky stuff. And a pity, given the excellence on the whole.

■ A group of high-school seniors in—it happened to be Arkansas but could have been any state that commits public education—was given this poser: What is 27 per cent of 100? In order not to wound the students' self-esteem, we carefully report the results in language beyond their grasp: 50 per cent of them flunked.

Way to Go

IT'S NO accident that the first sign of life in Bob Dole's campaign since he locked up the Republican nomination came when he started pushing to repeal Bill Clinton's gas tax. The exercise serves as a useful reminder that when Clinton says he raised taxes only on the rich, he's counting everyone who drives a car.

Despite the ascendance of the GOP's conservative wing after 1994, the party has yet to return to its Reagan-era message of tax cuts and economic growth. Instead Republicans have focused on the alleged imperative of balancing the budget. The result has been the loss of a bedrock GOP issue. In a recent *Money* poll, slightly more Americans worry that Bob Dole would raise their taxes than worry that Bill Clinton would.

The Dole camp has begun to realize the power of the Reagan formula of across-the-board income-tax cuts. Supply-sider Bruce Bartlett urges a 15 per cent cut, a suggestion that many Republicans hope Bob Dole will endorse. They're on the right track; it's bold, appealing, easy to explain. But 30 per cent would be better. Clinton would find it impossible to me-too a tax cut of this magnitude, and it would be large enough for individual families and investors to notice: two crucial political imperatives. Once the party has accepted the logic of across-the-board tax cuts, there's no reason to hold back.

Middle-income Americans—those making between $25,000 and $62,000 a year—now pay a staggering 43.3 per cent of their income to the Federal Government. That level compares with 20 per cent in the mid Sixties, and it doesn't even count state taxes. This crushing burden is often underestimated because of a failure to count Social Security and Medicare payroll taxes—a killer penalty, especially for this income cohort. A recent *Reader's Digest* poll informs us that Americans of every financial and demographic category believe that no family should have to surrender more than 25 per cent of its income to the government. A Dole tax cut would tap into this latent, almost universal, public sentiment.

Democrats, of course, using class-warfare rhetoric, will denounce any tax cut. Such rhetoric, however, resonates only when the public believes that taxes are going up anyway, so why not make the other guy pay? A bold tax cut frustrates such ploys because all Americans have a stake in it. By contrast, current Republican tax proposals—ranging from the $500-per-child tax credit to Sen. John Ashcroft's plan to make payroll taxes deductible—all partake of liberalism's determination to treat Americans as members of discrete interest groups. Worse, Ashcroft's idea is clearly designed to appeal to faddish notions of wage stagnation and free-floating "worker anxiety"; in other words, it approaches the economy in Democratic terms, not in terms of promoting growth.

High tax rates are a big reason for what Larry Kudlow calls "the growth deficit": the failure of the economy in the Nineties to grow at its historic clip of just over 3 per cent. Policy elites are now treating their mistake as a fact of life, arguing that growth above 2.3 or 2.5 per cent is simply impossible. In this slow-growth, high-tax environment, it's no surprise that median family incomes are slipping or that "economic anxiety" dominates the headlines.

How will the tax cut be paid for? Part of the answer is growth. If the growth effects of a tax cut are accounted for, it wouldn't lower revenues much more over a five-year period than the original Contract with America's $500 tax credit. Republicans have to fight for "dynamic scoring" rather than accept current forecasting methods, which presuppose that GOP policies will fail. The rest of the answer should be that the GOP will not flinch from spending cuts—a pledge made credible by its recent kamikaze efforts on the budget. That task, Republicans

Paula Keeps on Ticking

It's probably her batteries—
The kind that never quit.
The judge denied a further stay,
And Clinton's in a snit.
He'll take it to the Justice who
Reviews the circuit court.
His name is Clarence Thomas, so
Some lunches may abort.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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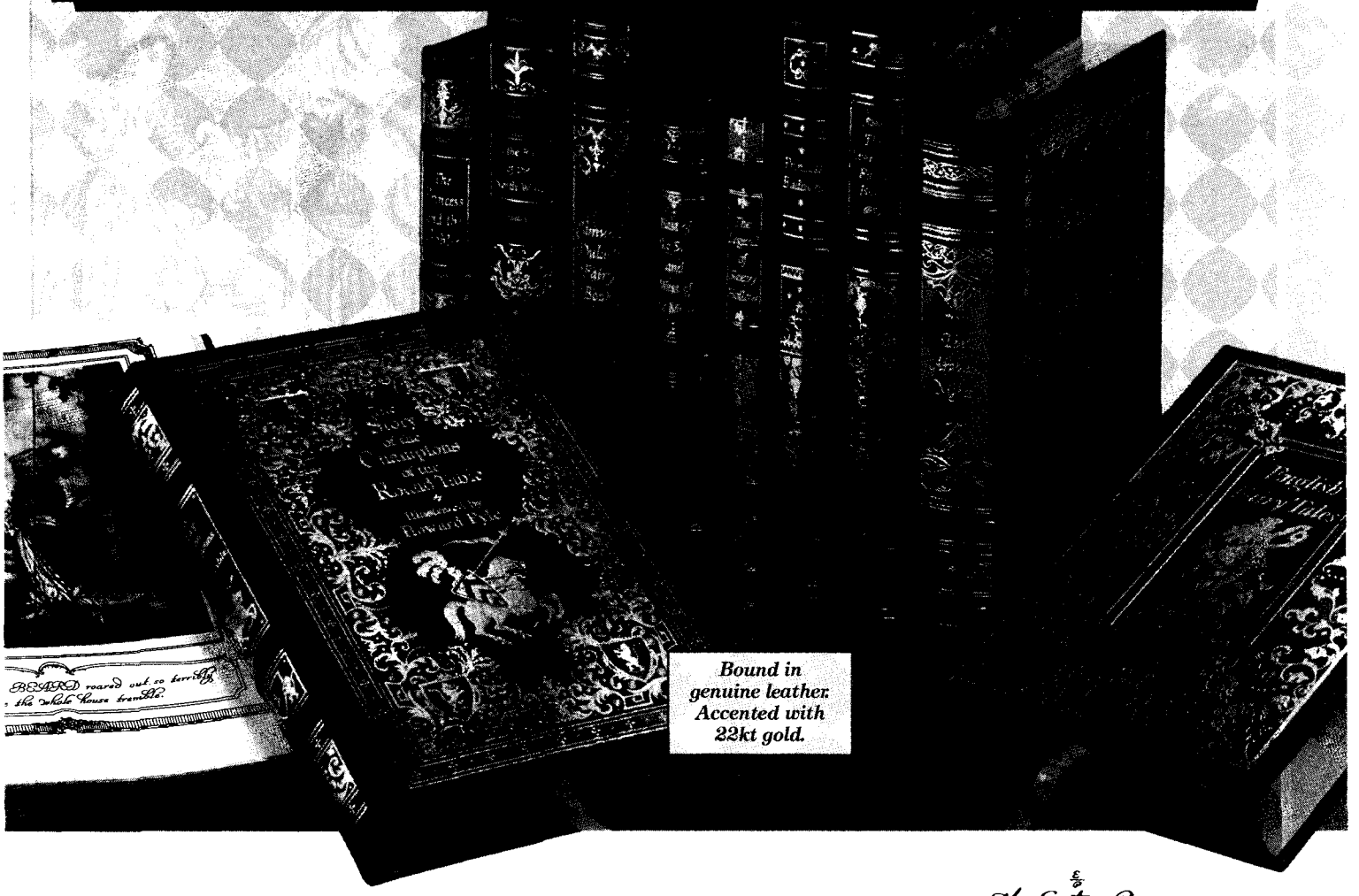

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should add, would be infinitely easier in the absence of President Clinton.

Perhaps the foremost advantage of the 30 per cent tax cut is that it would immediately dominate the political conversation, drawing fierce attacks from the media elite (the *Washington Post*'s David Broder denounces even the gas-tax cut as irresponsible). But for this reason, the debate would immediately be on Republican ground. Dole would demonstrate his belief in ordinary people as opposed to government and self-appointed experts, dispel the notion that he has no vision, and energize almost every element of the Republican Party. The longest coattails in American politics still belong to Ronald Reagan. Dole should grab hold.

Campaign Deform Act

THE U.S. Senate of late is no stranger to posturing in the service of dubious public policy (cf. the minimum-wage debate, the Kennedy–Kassebaum health-care bill, etc.). But the new campaign-finance-reform legislation pushed by Sen. John McCain (R., Ariz.) and Sen. Russell Feingold (D., Wis.) represents a departure even for this election-year Senate.

The impulse behind the McCain–Feingold bill is twofold. First, it assumes a public clamor for campaign-finance reform that Washington ignores only at its peril. But agitation for campaign-finance reform occurs only in the salons of Washington itself. Real people could not care less: only 1 per cent, according to a recent Tarrance Group survey, think it should be the top concern of Congress. And 6 of 10 voters believe that any reforms will inevitably be botched. Second, the bill assumes that there is "too much" money in American politics, and that its influence is *a priori* corrupting.

But money has an indispensable role in politics, which is to help a candidate and his party get out their message. This is why the Supreme Court ruled in *Buckley* v. *Valeo* in 1976 that political contributions and campaign spending are tantamount to political speech. Given the importance of such speech, it is hardly unseemly that some $700 million was spent on the 1994 House and Senate races, about half as much (as George Will likes to remind us) as Americans spend annually on yogurt. This level of spending is roughly in accord with historical patterns: in 1968, campaign spending amounted to 0.3 per cent of GDP, now the figure is 0.5 per cent. In any case, the influence of money tends to be exaggerated. Big spenders, like Tom Foley, Jack Brooks, and Mario Cuomo in 1994, often lose. And studies show that factors like ideology and geography have more influence on politicians once they are in office than the dollars that helped get them there.

McCain & Co. ignore all this in a ham-handed effort to "clean up" politics. Their bill imposes "voluntary" spending limits on Senate campaigns and confers benefits on candidates willing to abide by them (higher contribution limits, lower postage and TV-advertising rates). The limits almost certainly abridge First Amendment rights and would mostly help incumbents. The bill would ban PACs, a provision so flatly unconstitutional that the legislation comes with "fallback" provisions. It would diminish the potency of the two major parties by placing new, intrusive controls on so-called "soft money" spent on generic party-building activities. It places issues-advocacy groups like the Christian Coalition under a new, constitutionally suspect regime of regulation. And finally, it grants sweeping new powers of prior restraint to the Federal Election Commission.

"In the free society ordained by our Constitution," the Supreme Court wrote in the *Buckley* decision, "it is not the government, but the people—individually as citizens and candidates and collectively as associations and political committees—who must retain control over the quantity and range of debate on public issues in a political campaign."

Walking the Plank

THE Christian Coalition's Ralph Reed finds himself, not for the first time, in the middle of a dust-up over abortion. This time, uncharacteristically, the fault was partly his own. He inadvertently led a *New York Times* reporter to believe that he would accept a rape-and-incest exception to a Human Life Amendment. Although Reed immediately denied the report and the *Times* issued a clarification, some pro-lifers were furious at the perceived sellout. The public-relations damage was not insignificant: attention was diverted from partial-birth abortion to abortions involving rape and incest—from President Clinton's extremism to squabbling within the pro-life movement, than which the national media like nothing better.

The misunderstanding also made it difficult for Reed to get a fair hearing when he unveiled his proposed platform plank on abortion. He has no objection to the current plank and no intention of pressing for replacing it; he

Dole Gets Some Traction

He'll never have the gift of gab,
Nor will he dance around and jab,
But Tipper heard the Mrs. spit
When one of hubby's judges quit,
While Travelgate, once thought to be
Cemented thirty miles at sea,
Outdid Houdini, rising just
As Bill began exuding trust.

—W. H. VON DREELE

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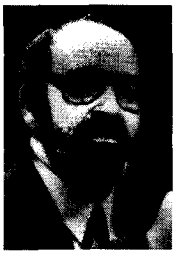

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merely meant to offer an example of alternative language that would also be acceptable. Pro-lifers can have no principled objection to his suggested wording, as it preserves the key principle that all human life is to be protected. Whether that equivalent wording should be substituted for the current plank is a tactical issue on which committed pro-lifers can respectfully disagree. Pat and Bay Buchanan and their allies seem unable or unwilling to recognize this fact. They have unfairly denounced Reed and others in tones indistinguishable from the tones they use against pro-abortionists.

As a tactical matter, the current language should be maintained. Whether a proposed modification of the platform represents a retreat is a matter of perception as well as substance. And for self-styled pro-life purists like the Buchanans, as for pro-choice advocates like Gov. Christine Todd Whitman and the national media, the perception will be that any change is a sellout. To avoid such a fiasco, the GOP should make no more than cosmetic alterations (e.g., denouncing the President's partial-birth veto). No one is better suited to hold the line than platform-committee chairman Henry Hyde.

Iran–Clinton

BILL CLINTON is now the second President to become involved in duplicitous diplomatic conduct involving Iran. Ronald Reagan promised never to trade arms for hostages, then secretly sent arms to Iran for just that purpose. Bill Clinton loudly denounced arming the Bosnians, then winked as Iran sent them both arms and terrorists.

Right Data

SPRING is in the air. Gas prices are up. So what else is new? Well, a few things: A particularly harsh winter in North America along with flat OPEC oil production has cut crude-oil inventories to an 86-day supply—the lowest level since 1979. From February to mid April, the price of oil—the raw material from which gasoline is made—was bid up by more than 40 per cent. As a result, the seasonal jump in gasoline prices was noticeably worse this year.

Over the long haul, however, gasoline and crude-oil prices don't always move in sync. In 1950, a barrel of oil cost $2.50. Even after adjusting for inflation, the current cost, $22 per barrel, is 38 per cent higher than in the 1950s. But gasoline is far cheaper, in real terms, than it was then. Thanks to technology developed by oil companies, refineries are able to squeeze more gallons of gas out of the same barrel of oil. Consumers are the beneficiaries.

However, gas taxes have robbed U.S. drivers of these gains. Combined federal and state gas taxes now average more than 40 cents per gallon. Since 1980, the pre-tax price of gasoline has plummeted, but gas taxes have gone up 66 per cent in real terms. Moreover, these taxes aren't used for their stated purpose. For nearly thirty years the Highway Trust Fund has collected more gas-tax revenues than it has spent on highway construction and maintenance. (At the end of 1995, the surplus was a whopping $19 billion.) Budget laws allow the Trust Fund to "lend" its surplus to the Treasury, where it's spent like any other tax. President Clinton raised the federal tax in 1993 by 30 per cent, to 18 cents per gallon. And there was no pretense of a trust fund; the funds went directly to the Treasury.

Politics aside, a strong case can be made for a rollback. Economists estimate that Clinton's tax will reduce GDP by about $15 billion this year, or roughly three times the amount of revenue raised. According to the Tax Foundation, 69,000 jobs will be lost nationwide. And the burden falls disproportionately on the poor. Fully three-quarters of workers earning less than $10,000 a year commute to work in privately owned autos. Indeed, Labor Department statistics show that the poorest fifth of Americans devote 8.8 per cent of their household budgets to gasoline and motor oil (compared to 3.1 per cent spent by the wealthiest fifth).

How to pay for a gas-tax cut? Representative Ed Royce (R., Calif.) would close down parts of the Department of Energy. His idea makes perfect sense. After all, DOE was created to break the economy's "dangerous" dependence on foreign oil. Proven oil reserves are 50 per cent higher today than they were when DOE experts were forecasting total depletion of our fossil fuels by the year 2000. Natural-gas reserves have increased fourfold, and coal reserves have doubled. The reserve situation outside the U.S. has improved even more dramatically, because of private exploration efforts. Yet DOE spends $5 to $6 billion each year to find new energy sources.

Gas-tax die-hards invariably point to our import dependence. Although more than 50 per cent of our crude oil comes from foreign sources, this is only a small fraction of our total energy use. The rest comes from domestic or Canadian sources—natural gas, coal, hydropower. And domestic crude-oil production would rise dramatically if the ban on Alaskan oil exports were lifted. (Such deregulation would make the Alaskan North Slope one of the largest sources of recoverable reserves in the world.)

The only energy shortage we've ever experienced occurred in the 1970s—the result of price and allocation controls. That lesson needs to be recalled in the 1990s.

—ED RUBENSTEIN

DECONSTRUCTING GAS PRICES
(1995 Dollars)

	Gasoline Prices (per gal.)			
Year	Total	Fuel Taxes	Net of Tax	Crude Oil Per Barrel
1950	$1.707	$0.427	$1.280	$15.92
1980	2.184	0.247	1.937	50.21
1990	1.378	0.305	1.073	25.16
1995	1.205	0.404	0.801	17.24
1996-May	1.321	0.410	0.911	22.00

Source: Dept. of Energy; 1996 prices are in current $.

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ODE TO *JOYS*

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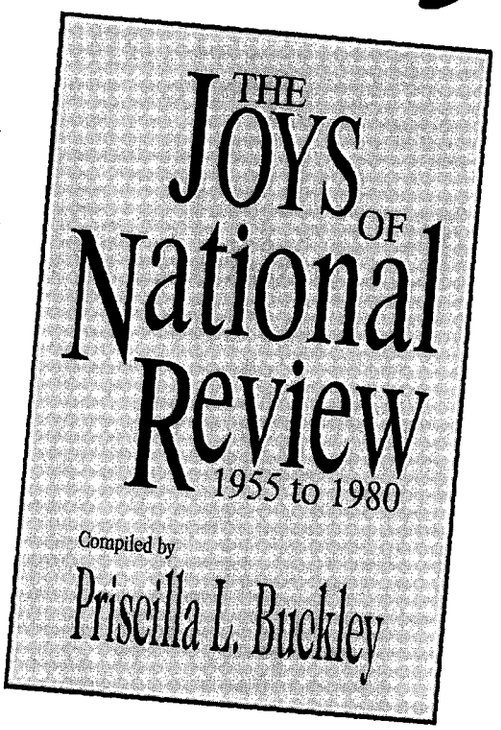

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If Not Now, When?

The Poles, a parking lot for czars,
And Czechs, whose Austrian hussars
Once ruled with swank and took no lip,
Are seeking NATO membership.
Bill Clinton, like the Virgin Queen,
Prefers to dally, which is mean,
But what's a President to do
When Yeltsin frowns and/or goes, Boo?

—W. H. VON DREELE

How do the two episodes compare?

In both cases Presidents misled Congress to guard against Congress's probable veto of their intended action. In the earlier case, Congress was on record against any dealings with hostage-takers. In the current one, Congress voted eight times against the Bosnia arms embargo despite President Clinton's insistence that the Bosnians didn't need more arms; had he admitted that they did indeed need arms and so he was letting the Iranians supply them, there would have been a veto-proof majority in favor of ending the embargo.

Clinton's motive was less defensible than Reagan's. Reagan wanted to save lives and help more moderate forces in Iran; Clinton wanted to save face. Having denounced those who urged arming Bosnia, he would rather allow Iran to act as arms supplier than admit error.

For damage done, too, Clinton wins. The real-world impact of Reagan's actions was to undercut U.S. reliability and the President's credibility. Clinton has done this, and more. The Iranians have not used the missiles Reagan gave them, but they *have* used the opportunity Clinton afforded them. At one point, several thousand Iranian trainers were in Bosnia, and several hundred are still there. What terrorist networks have been established, what risks are posed to the troops we now have in the region, can only be guessed.

Thus far the Democratic solons, so quick in the 1980s to lecture Republican officials and (rightly) to demand an end to duplicity, are all silent. Once hearings begin, they can be expected to play the same role they have played in Whitewater: defending any and all Clinton misbehavior. How different life would be if only the Republicans ran Congress.

William E. Colby, RIP

WILLIAM Colby, who suffered a heart attack and, falling into the water from his canoe, drowned, served as Director of Central Intelligence from 1973 until 1975. Mr. Colby, a graduate of Princeton and of the Columbia Law School, was a war hero who had volunteered for the parachute corps, hiding the fact that he had one defective eye. He deserved the decorations he won.

His big mark on history was the testimony he gave in 1975, and arranged for others to give, to the Senate committee (headed by Frank Church) investigating the CIA. A sanguinary description of the CIA's activity, as given in the *New York Times*: ". . . The public learned of the agency's role in tapping the telephones and opening the mail of Americans, and compiling dossiers on them; plotting coups in foreign lands and planning to assassinate foreign leaders like Fidel Castro; using human guinea pigs for mind-control experiments involving LSD; and committing other offenses against its charter, the law, and common sense." Mr. Colby explained his disclosures by rudimentary democratic arithmetic: Congress and the people have a right to know.

Very different conclusions were reached by his predecessor, Richard Helms, memorialized in Thomas Powers's book as "The Man Who Kept the Secrets." Which man behaved better?

I interrupt this obituary in deference to the protocol of full disclosure. In my first cold-war novel (*Saving the Queen*) and in my tenth (and last—*A Very Private Plot*) Blackford Oakes declines to testify to Senate committees, in the first instance, the Church committee. His grounds are that he gave his word to people who collaborated with him in sundry CIA enterprises. That's all.

To be sure, Blackford Oakes was a subordinate; but so was Richard Helms, a subordinate to the President. Democratic rectitude and abiding trust can and do conflict. Mr. Helms's reading (like that of Blackford Oakes) of the quandary is that an oath to secrecy having been given, it is not cast aside, not under any circumstances. What the division of opinion reminds us is that espionage is a moral art, not subject to schematic arrangements. It is understandable, under the aspect of the heavens, that a President in very special circumstances might order a particular action executed, and deny that he had done so.

We learn that Mr. Colby had most recently embarked on a marketing enterprise, "a computer CD-ROM game about espionage and counter-terrorism." For some people, never mind their own record of personal bravery, espionage is, after all, a game. Ask Le Carré. Don't ask

WFB

Luis Miguel Dominguín, RIP

HE DIED ingloriously—not as he should have, impaled on the horns of a bull; young and virile, disdainful of death in his contempt of life.

He died of a stroke. Fatbellied; old; at his ranch in the remote Andalusian town of Andújar. I like to think that he drew his last breath in the arms of the last of his women, Rosario Primo de Rivera, who gave him what

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balm she could in the interminable fading he never should have had to endure—he, the restless one, the circler of circles, herdsman of the stars.

Luis Miguel González Lucas—"Dominguín"—was born into a well-off family of bullfighters. *Toreros*, they are called, the very roll of the r's in the Spanish proclaiming a certain dignity, danger, and doom. His father had been the model for the bullfighter in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*. Luis Miguel was born to the purple and at the age of 19 was recognized as a prodigy in the ring—a fearless spirit who could do just about anything with cape or *muleta*, dominating his foes with a haughty insouciance that set the hearts of women on fire.

He bedded about as many women as he impaled bulls. The Duke of Pino Hermoso sought to have Luis Miguel exiled (by Franco) in order to keep the man away from his daughter. His love affair with Ava Gardner in the early 1950s was the sensation of the tabloids. He married the exquisite Lucia Bose, then the rival of Sophia Loren on the Italian screen; on learning which, the Mexican actress Miraslova Stern committed suicide. He made countless enemies; he was blamed by *aficionados* for pushing the ill and bullworn Manolete to his death in Linares, in 1947. It's a canard, but Luis Miguel suffered from it all his long life.

We were close for a few years. I'd been commissioned to write a piece on him for *The Atlantic* ("Death & Dominguín," 1968). This pleased him, because he fed on adulation. The article I wrote was sympathetic, even affectionate, but did not spare his faults. ("*¡Satanás!*" he hissed at me over the telephone, upon reading it.) Notwithstanding, we continued friends. Shooting next to him in Guadalajara one brilliant cold November day I was given clear evidence of what it was that caused him to excel in the ring, in bed, in business, in anything that captured his interest. Maybe a thousand redlegged partridges hurtled over the lip of the *meseta* on that first beat. Luis Miguel was indefatigable, blasting the last of the 77 partridges that fell to his gun with the same ferocity as the first. He was a killer.

Antonio Ordóñez, his brother-in-law, displaced him in the ring as he had displaced Manolete. He divorced the lovely Lucia, indulging in sorry love affairs that did nothing for his reputation. He hungered ever for the bulls, for the crowd's roar. Existence had turned to ashes in his mouth. His androgynously good-looking son, Miguel—who had taken his mother's maiden name in rebuke of the father—rather than follow Dominguín's gladiator's steps to glory, became a rock singer. Twenty years of reclusion ground down Dominguín's fame. One day a year or so ago when visiting Madrid he had an altercation. "Who the devil do you think you are?" someone shouted at him.

"I . . . I am Luis Miguel Dominguín," he replied curtly.

"Who?" said the fellow—and then another man, a companion of the first, called out, "Oh, he's the father of Miguel Bose, the singer."

But don't pity him, you who will never know his glory. On a hot July afternoon in Málaga, in 1959, when for the third time he met Ordóñez in a *mano a mano*, he blazed into memory one of the most gallant episodes in the annals of the *fiesta*. Weeks before, he had suffered a bad horn wound in the groin. The rancor that pursued him all his professional life was now heaped on him. In cafés and saloons they were betting that he would use his wound as an excuse to stay away from the ring that day because he feared comparison to Ordóñez. He disappointed his enemies, not only showing up, but pushing the great Ordóñez to the limits of his artistry. Then his last foe, the third bull, caught Dominguín and tossed him. The incompletely healed wound in the groin burst like a boil and blood sponged a scarlet stain down the matador's belly. The other bullfighters ran to him, attempting to

The Week in Verse

Like children who're delighted by surprise,
The *Media* greet each day with shining eyes;
The issues that the *Gingrich* House was able
To drag before them now are off the table.
Instead, we find our national discourse
A random progress led by hobbyhorse.
What do you think would make the world more nice?
What to be re-elected will suffice?
No day goes by without some new largesse;
No day but leads to *Democrat* success.
The kids, especially (those he'll let be born),
Get lunch from *Bill*, an end to kiddie porn,
Their moms in hospital an extra day,
And, when they're teens, a little bit more pay.
He'll teach them, too, how wrong it is to smoke,
And—what the heck!—at gangs he'll take a poke.
But most of all, now that we're so well led,
They're free from fears of nuclear bombs in bed.

Has e'er majority held point of view
Or thought a thing that *Clinton's* not thought too?
He's pro adoption, anti TV gore,
Against gay marriage, but pro-fam'ly more,
And, though he doesn't show it all the time,
It's said he's also firmly anti-crime.
How fast he moves: a plane falls from the sky,
He's got new safety measures standing by.
Meanwhile *Dole* takes two months to state a "vision"
And damns the President for "indecision."

Ah, well, I'm sure he'll find some issues too.
Indeed, already there've appeared a few:
He'll cut the tax on gas, repeal the ban
On automatic weapons (if he can),
And show he's just as caring and acute
As *Bill*—and even more remote from *Newt*.
What if the *House* goes *Democrat* again?
Conservatives, I hear, have won in *Spain*!

—Juvenal

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carry him off. Ordóñez pleaded with him—I could see him screaming into his brother-in-law's ear—*You've done enough, Miguel, go, Miguel, for God's sake go*. . . . Luis Miguel shook his head, thrusting them all away, and limped to the ring's center where, at a distance, alone, planting his slippers in the sand, he cited the bull, determined to die, if that alone would satisfy his enemies. And proceeded to carve out of space and imperishably into time the five most perfect *naturales* that I have ever seen; that my friend the playwright Edgar Neville, who had followed the bulls since the time of Belmonte and Joselito, had ever seen. Slim and straight and arrogant, a bright flame, incomparable, jaw set, eyes gazing straight ahead, never deigning a glance at the black beast swirling around him under the red cloth. *Que descanses en paz, Miguel.*

—F. R. Buckley

Notes & Asides

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am a student at a large Texas university, studying foreign languages and literatures. The other day, a friend of mine called me, and I thought the ensuing conversation might amuse, and possibly appall, you and your readers.

My friend said she had an acquaintance who was taking a government class and had been assigned to find answers to a list of questions about our government. She thought of me, she said, because of my interest in the subject. (I should say at this point that my only qualifications are that I read the paper, one or two news magazines, and NATIONAL REVIEW.) I replied that I would be pleased to help, my ego sufficiently flattered. I was expecting fairly obtuse questions that would be fun to answer.

You can imagine my surprise, then, when the first question was, "Who is the Secretary of State?"

Flabbergasted, I replied, "Warren Christopher."

My friend repeated the answer, and I heard a third voice say, "Okay," in the background.

The next question was, "Who is the Secretary of Defense?"

This time, my mind taking a more mischievous bent, I replied, "Les Aspin."

Things went on in this vein: the Attorney General, Margaret Williams; Secretary of the Interior, J. P. Morgan; and so on, until the last question, which was, "Who are the Joint Chiefs of Staff?" to which I replied, "Bert and Ernie." This time there was a pause, and then, "Nuh-uhhhh!"

Mr. Buckley, was I wrong to indulge in this petty meanness, or dare I hope that the bark of laughter sure to come from this young lady's professor will spur her to learn more for herself? I have been feeling alternately guilty and smug, and I rely on you for a reply.

Sincerely yours,
Anthony Marks
1016egan@computek.com

Dear Mr. Marks: It all depends on the nature of your friendship with the victim. If it is animated by cross-fun & games, okay. If not, not okay. Cordially, WFB

■ Dear Mr. Greer:

With regard to your letter to Mr. Buckley in the December 31 issue of NATIONAL REVIEW, I would like to inform you that I have all ten of the Blackford Oakes novels. I would be happy to lend you any, or all, of them upon your assurance, as a NATIONAL REVIEW reader, that you will return them to me.

Cordially,
Thomas S. Childs Jr.
Lyme, Conn.

■ Dear Mr. Buckley:

I am told that there are three words in the English dictionary that end in -gry. One of the words is angry, the second word is hungry, and supposedly there is another which has the suffix -gry. Do you have any idea what the third word might be?

Sincerely yours,
Edward J. Planz
Associate Professor Emeritus
Tuscaloosa, Ala.

Dear Professor Planz: Sorry, the third doesn't come to mind. If our readers come up with it, you will be the first to know. Cordially, **—WFB**

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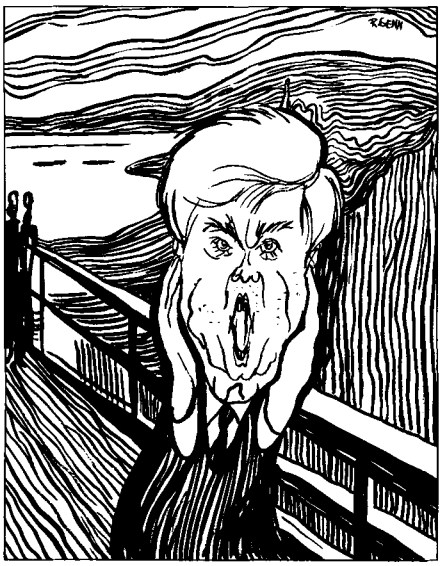
CAPITAL SCENE

The Unnecessary GOP Meltdown

KATE O'BEIRNE & RAMESH PONNURU



Roman Genn

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AT THEIR weekly meeting on April 22, Republican senators' legislative directors received their marching orders: they were to expect a cloture vote on immigration and then "stall" for the rest of the week. For many present, it was a low point in a month in which it had become painfully clear that despite having a majority in both houses of Congress, Republicans were unable to set the national agenda. Senate Majority Leader Bob Dole was "listless and detached" in meetings, recalls one Senate aide.

But that was before Sen. Phil Gramm and Speaker Newt Gingrich raised the issue of a 4.3-cent gas-tax cut. Dole started to demand that any increase in the minimum wage be linked to the cut and to labor-law reform. "For the first time in a long time . . . Dole was aggressive and focused," says the aide. Dole wasn't the only one. Republicans were on the offensive again.

Even in a city where moods swing more frequently than the First Lady changes her hair style (not to mention her testimony), the effect of such a minor policy feint on the Republican psyche was remarkable. Together with the Clinton Administration's withdrawal of the nomination of the hapless Charles Stack for a federal judgeship, it was enough to pull many Republicans temporarily out of their funk. Yet the gas-tax initiative also highlights the small-mindedness of Republicans. They are prone to go in for measures that are piecemeal, reactive, and tactical.

Not surprisingly, then, defeatism has continued to plague the GOP. Some Republicans despair of the party's chances of holding onto Congress. Many more treat the Dole campaign as a grim joke. Highly visible spats within the party both result from this defeatism and cause it to deepen. Republicans are clashing over abortion, as usual, but also over campaign strategy, the role of Newt Gingrich, the proper response to organized labor's political resurgence, and the politics of the minimum wage. Participants in these sometimes unpleasant debates include almost every branch of the party: representatives and senators, state party chairmen and governors, conservatives and liberals. And that is the down side of the remarkable Republican success in 1993–94: Never before in a modern election has the GOP had to coordinate this many power centers. In 1988 House Minority Leader Bob Michel could have campaigned for Angela Davis and no one would have noticed; now many Republicans draw media attention. There are more Republican governors than at any time in recent memory—and they are all over the lot ideologically.

This shows up most clearly on the abortion issue. Congressional Republicans' one unequivocal recent success was the partial-birth-abortion ban, which briefly isolated Clinton as an abortion-rights extremist. Moderate Republicans, however, could not tolerate this state of affairs, and so Governors Whitman, Weld, Wilson, and Pataki quickly diverted attention from President Clinton to intra-Republican squabbling. They announced their intention to lead a platform fight in San Diego. Whitman and Weld even defended Clinton's veto of the partial-birth ban.

This can perhaps best be understood as the political equivalent of a psychological disorder: Munchausen by proxy, a syndrome which leads sufferers to inflict illnesses on others in order to get attention for themselves. Gov. Whitman, one of the nation's most prominent Republicans, recently graced the cover of the *New York Times Magazine* under the plaintive headline, "It's My Party, Too"—which certainly suggests a pathological need for attention.

It also reflects the fact that most abortion-rights Republicans know they can't win a fight at the convention. To judge by the states' delegate selections, the convention could well be dominated by committed social conservatives. Pro-lifers are a majority of even the Massachusetts delegation, much to Gov. Weld's consternation.

So instead of organizing at the grassroots, these Republicans take their grievances to the national media, which will always lend a sympathetic ear. If they stage a floor fight in San Diego and lose it, they can present the convention to elite opinionmakers as a replay of Houston 1992, thus strengthening their hand for 2000 in the event Dole loses in November. This sort of thing is nothing new. Says Don Devine, a veteran of the Reagan Administration and a prominent Dole supporter, "I've been involved in Republican conventions for over twenty years, and every Republican convention brings out the 'shoot-the-wounded' Republicans. It's a disease outbreak we have to expect." But the weaker the candidate appears, the greater the likelihood that the disease will become an epidemic.

WHICH is why Bob Dole's dramatic and wholly unpredicted decision to resign his Senate seat was exactly what the campaign needed. The World's Greatest Deliberative Body, with its individualistic members and arcane procedural traps, was working against bold revival strategies. "Daschle and Kennedy are

Mrs. O'Beirne is NR*'s Washington editor. Mr. Ponnuru is* NR*'s national reporter.*

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beating up on Dole right now, and Clinton has the luxury of sitting back and beating up on the whole process," a House aide observed last week. And maverick Republicans typically do some beating up of their own. Sen. John Chafee (R., R.I.) could, for instance, be the undoing of House Republicans' plan to send President Clinton another welfare and Medicaid reform bill. Chafee voted for reforms last year only as part of a historic, comprehensive balanced budget; he is unlikely to support meaningful reform in a stand-alone bill. Since Republicans have a one-vote majority on the Senate Finance Committee, his defection could kill the bill. "I don't like any strategy that depends on John Chafee," says a conservative Senate leadership aide.

'It's every man for himself' is a phrase now heard with tiresome regularity.

Dole will have to follow up his departure from the Senate with additional moves to reassert his leadership over the party. In the absence of adult leadership, the Republicans have been stealing a page from *Lord of the Flies*. They are picking on the most vulnerable among them—and Newt Gingrich is Piggy, the rotund intellectual who gets felled by a rock. Surrounded by these squabbling children, Dole has been acting like a distant older brother. The Republican rank-and-filers who expect him to silence treasonous voices don't appreciate his aversion to conflict and controversy. "His reputation [as a tough-guy] comes from a few stories newspapers play up, but conflict avoidance is how he really operates," explains a veteran Dole-watcher. (His father, Doran Dole, dealt with family conflicts in much the same way.) As majority leader, Dole has always found consensus by persuading and cajoling his colleagues—not by twisting arms or knocking heads together.

Take his reaction to a recent foray by his crony Sen. Al D'Amato (R., N.Y.). D'Amato, who appears also to be afflicted with Munchausen by proxy, made waves by echoing liberal rhetoric to the effect that the Republican Congress had gone too far, threatening to inundate the nation with "dirty drinking water." When challenged, D'Amato escalated, attacking Newt Gingrich and the GOP's "philosophical ayatollahs" (it wasn't clear which word he meant as an insult). Gov. Pataki joined the chorus, and even conservative Rep. Peter King (R., N.Y.) complained about the House leadership's "Southern, anti-union attitude that appeals to the mentality of hillbillies at revival meetings." A Republican senator summarizes the situation: "Bob has a lot of friends who are hurting him."

Not only did Dole make no effort to keep his friends in line; within a week of Sen. D'Amato's first attack on Gingrich, Dole had adopted a kinder, gentler version of it. At a dinner for the GOP's major donors on May 9, Dole said that Republicans may have scared some people by going too far, too fast. The Speaker, he said, has a lot of ideas, and "some of them are even good." This return of the pre-primary-season Bob Dole, anxious to distance himself from Gingrich and the Contract with America, came at an odd time: the Republican Congress is in fact more popular than Dole himself.

If Dole now means to change course, he still has to move quickly. On some Beltway types' reckoning, the campaign has a roughly six-week window of opportunity during which it must devise its message, approach conservative groups with it, and set them to work. If that doesn't happen and conservatives are left out, more of them will start saying they have no stake in Dole's election and that they will work for lower-level conservative candidates.

And who will tell straying Republicans that they had better get back with the party line? In 1988, would-be mavericks feared James Baker; nobody really thinks Scott Reed will come back to haunt them. One solution to both these problems would be to place a recognized heavyweight like Haley Barbour in charge of the campaign. The appointment of the aggressive Republican National Committee chairman would help greatly with both the message and the presentation, causing defeatists to take a long second look at the campaign.

Those defeatists have been thick on the ground recently. Conspiracy-minded conservatives suspect that some of the Dole-bashers want to tear him down so that he will be forced to pick Colin Powell as his vice-presidential nominee in order to remain viable. But the likely conservative dominance of the convention makes the Dole campaign wary of offering the vice-presidential nomination to Powell. Those opposed to a self-described "Rockefeller Republican" on the ticket wouldn't have to wait until November to express displeasure; they could embarrass the campaign, or even defeat the nomination, in San Diego. Which would be just as well: a Powell pick would hardly invigorate the demoralized Republican base.

A more charitable explanation is that some conservatives have been trying to position themselves as best they can in case of a blowout Dole defeat. That is certainly what is going on in the Republican Congress. When staffers are told that the passage of their pet bill would help Clinton, they often shrug and say, He's going to be re-elected anyway, so we may as well get the best deal we can while he's renting our issues. That attitude is particularly pervasive among that subgroup of Hill staffers known in Washington shorthand as "policy people," but plenty of congressmen will say the same thing off the record. "It's every man for himself" is a phrase we hear with tiresome regularity on the Hill these days.

One good reason for Republican congressmen to be nervous is that, if their leaders have developed a new grand strategy since the dissolution of the Contract, they have yet to disclose it. As noted above, it has been all reaction, not a bold new attack.

THE rest of the panic is media-driven. One month the rap is that Republicans have gone too far, the next that they haven't done enough. The same Republicans go wobbly each time. All but the most steel-willed—like House Majority Leader Dick Armey and Reps. Bob Walker (Pa.), John Boehner (Ohio), and Bob Livingston (La.)—have lost the intellectual self-confidence needed to make the principled arguments against superficially popular proposals like boosting the minimum wage, or to take up new issues. They assume Clinton and the Democrats will be able to run rings around them in terms of tactics and public relations.

A disgusted Hill aide argues, "It's like being a salesman and never going to customers because they don't think they'll be able to convince them. We have a lot of members who just do

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focus groups and polls but never go out there and make the arguments. They should find another way to make a living." Congressmen are coming into D.C. on Tuesdays and leaving on Thursdays, eager to spend time in their districts.

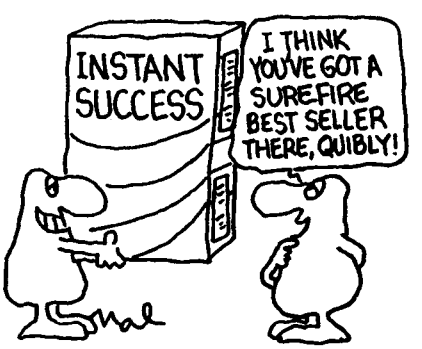
Many conservative House members were outraged when they learned that Gingrich had told moderate Rep. Chris Shays (R., Conn.) that if he wanted a vote on raising the minimum wage, he should get like-minded colleagues to sign a letter to the Speaker so that he could say he was forced to schedule one. In other words, his "capitulation" was orchestrated. When pressed on the issue by conservatives, Gingrich crassly defends a minimum-wage boost as "an 80-20 issue" (i.e., 80 per cent of the public favors it). The episode sheds light on the Speaker's leadership style and ideological malleability, and has allowed Dick Armey and Whip Tom DeLay to burnish their conservative credentials at the Speaker's expense. This leadership jockeying leads some on the Hill quietly to predict that Gingrich won't be Speaker next year even if the Republicans retain their majority. The lack of gratitude for his role in creating that majority in the first place is astonishing.

Rank-and-file Republicans cannot be expected to defer their intra-party battles until after the elections when high-ranking officials set a contrary example. The leadership that should be keeping them in line is part of the problem. Furthermore, as political analyst Stuart Rothenberg recently wrote, "It's important to note that activists from *both wings* of the Republican Party share the blame" for the recent fratricide. Conservatives and moderates also share problems that could be corrected if given some of the attention currently reserved for attacks on each other. All Republicans are too apt to complain about the lessons of the last year rather than absorbing them. For instance, they gripe about press bias and Clinton's demagoguery and duplicity. These are facts of life; complaining about them is pointless and can easily come across as whining (which is how some recent Gingrich remarks played).

Moreover, Republicans continue to suffer from communications problems going well beyond Bob Dole's rhetorical deficiencies. For the last year they have talked about means, legislative tools, while Clinton talked about ends; they rarely bothered to lay out the intellectual predicates for the policy changes they wished to enact. Too many congressmen still think they're in production rather than sales. Part of the solution is simply for Republicans to present their best face to the public. For example, Rep. Steve Largent (Okla.) should be joined by another Republican with star quality—say, Sen. Fred Thompson (Tenn.)—in pushing the Defense of Marriage Act. And for a party that sets so much store by federalism and civil society, Republicans are much too given to relying on the usual Beltway suspects, while underutilizing the wealth of talent outside the inner circle. On crime, for example, the public face of the GOP should not be Rep. Bob Barr (Ga.); it should be Charleston police chief Reuben Greenberg. On morals, "Best Friends" head Elaine Bennett, not her husband, Bill, should lead the way. On economics, it should be Godfather pizza exec Herman Cain, not professorial congressmen, expounding Republican views.

A REAL and lasting Republican recovery, however, will require more substantive steps. There is widespread agreement among Republicans that tax cuts must be an important part of the fall campaign. "A broad-based, true-blue tax cut is the quickest way to the hearts and minds of the American people," says pollster Kellyanne Fitzpatrick. "A quick and easy tax cut signals all Americans that the Republican Party wants to give them immediate relief and long-term hope."

A leading Democratic operative recently told the *L. A. Times* that it was imperative to avoid "a debate in which the primary difference between us is they want to cut taxes and we don't." And—the most hopeful thing we've heard in many a day—the Dole campaign is actually considering a 15 per cent across-the-board cut in income taxes. But watch that word "considering": campaign advisors complain that nothing has been firmly decided. And indeed, by obsessing about the deficit over the last year, Republicans have painted themselves into a corner where many feel uncomfortable proposing major tax cuts. They will have to be ready to answer charges of hypocrisy if they adopt a tax-cutting strategy now.



Republicans still have time to recover their footing. In generic ballots (where respondents are asked whether they would rather vote for a Democrat or a Republican for Congress), the GOP has pulled even—which is ahead of where they were at this time in 1994. Even at the presidential level, Clinton's lead in the polls is much narrower among "likely voters" than among registered voters (the more-often-cited figure). And Clinton has vulnerabilities on the economy and on foreign policy that have barely begun to be explored.

That doesn't mean the GOP should be complacent; indeed, those Republicans who aren't defeatists may be banking too much on the passage of time and the magic of a national convention to restore their fortunes. But it does mean that there's no reason for concern to take on the coloration of panic. The distribution of open seats in Congress continues to favor Republican candidates; and since candidate recruitment took place at a time when Republicans looked stronger, the GOP is fielding a higher-quality team than the Democrats are. The sheer magnitude of the Democrats' task in retaking Congress is being widely underestimated.

Many conservatives have little patience with those who moan that Congress could be lost in November but never do anything constructive to prevent that from happening. Gingrich recently told the *Washington Times*, "If [Bill] Bennett thinks the party needs excitement and passion, then Bennett should go out and be exciting and passionate." Adds tax activist Grover Norquist, "It's a sin for people to whine that nobody's articulating the message when they're not articulating the message themselves. This is not a monarchy—we don't wait for Bob Dole."

A Republican collapse is by no means inevitable. If Republicans are willing to stop blaming each other for a November rout and start working to avoid it, they can still not only hold their congressional majorities, but expand them and recapture the White House as well. But they can't wait till October. □

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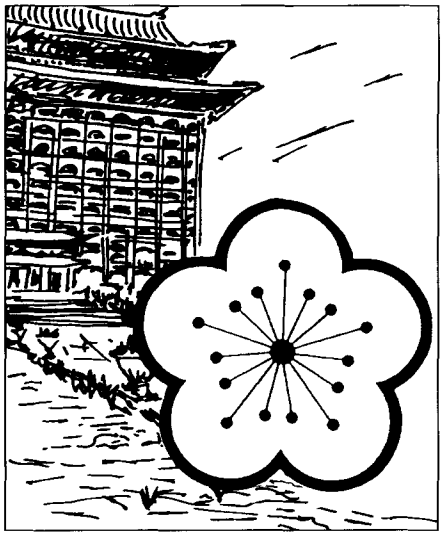
ON THE SCENE

China's Future

LEE TENG-HUI



Luba Kolomytseva

TAIPEI

ON March 23, between 8 A.M and 4 P.M., nearly 11 million of the 14 million eligible voters in Taiwan went to the polls and chose the Republic of China's president, vice president, and 334 delegates to the Third National Assembly. The calm manner in which my fellow citizens voted that day contrasted sharply with the sense of drama created by external events leading up to the election.

This election drew worldwide attention because of its historic significance. This was the first time in history that Chinese people directly elected a national president. (From 1947 until now, the president had been selected by the National Assembly.) It was indeed a great honor to have been returned to the office in which I had served since 1988 by 54 per cent of the voters. Their unambiguous endorsement of me and my running-mate, Dr. Lien Chan, represents a strong mandate for the next four years.

Campaigning for this exercise of popular will so fundamental to the democratic process gave me an opportunity to shake the hands of voters and listen to what is in their hearts. From them, I have gained a better understanding of what the people want for the Republic of China's future. We intend to press forward with constitutional reform providing for additional checks and balances, in order to further strengthen democracy in our nation. And there is much more left to do: accelerate the privatization of the economy, boost research and development, upgrade manufacturing and services, promote education reform, improve the environment, and enhance the quality of life for our people.

The renewal of political direction resulting from the election process is considered beneficial in democratic nations. However, the military maneuvers conducted by Mainland forces in the Taiwan Straits at various points during the election campaign are reminders that such an exercise of popular will can be misunderstood by leaders who have yet to experience democracy. Peking construed the process of wooing votes and fighting for a rightful place in the world order as covert support of Taiwan independence, and reacted with a series of military exercises that heightened international concern and diminished the positive momentum of cross-Straits exchanges in recent years.

Peking's fears are groundless. Taiwan and the Chinese Mainland are two parts of a single nation, shaped by Chinese history and culture. Nevertheless, Taiwan and the Chinese Mainland have, over the past century, developed in profoundly different directions. The Republic of China has achieved an economic miracle and has transformed the political and social institutions of Taiwan into models for other developing nations around the world. The Chinese Mainland authorities have permitted only limited economic reforms, beginning in the 1980s.

The enormous gap in living standards, average education levels, and political freedom between the two sides of the Taiwan Straits is a very real factor affecting the reunification process. We are committed to being economically competitive, working to make our democracy more mature, and continuing the cultural reinvigoration necessary for an advanced nation in the twenty-first century, and we welcome corresponding progress on the Chinese Mainland. No government could conceivably ask its people to give up the benefits of the economic, political, and social progress they have achieved by hard work over many decades. It makes much more sense for all Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits to enjoy the brightest possible future. As the gap between the two sides narrows and mutual confidence and trust increase, the process of reunification will naturally move to the advanced stages set forth in the *Guidelines for National Unification* prepared by the ROC government.

As the Taiwan experience attests, the nations that achieve sustainable economic growth the fastest do so because of political and social policies that unleash the vitality of their citizens. We have worked to ensure that we shall continue moving rapidly toward advanced-nation status. Our constitution, designed for the whole of China, had to be adjusted to reflect the reality of Taiwan. Accordingly, constitutional reform has been promoted on a step-by-step basis.

So has our process of making all levels of the ROC government representative of the popular will. Our people elected the Second National Assembly on December 21, 1991, to amend the constitution, and in August 1994 that body did so, allowing direct elections for president and vice president. We still have much work to do, but by all reasonable international standards, our government from top to bottom clearly reflects the will of its citizens.

THE clear message conveyed by the Taiwan voters on March 23 was that they want peaceful development of cross-Straits relations. This has been a goal toward which I have worked for years. On May 1, 1991, with the endorsement of our national representatives, I ended our state of war with the Mainland regime. We allowed our people to conduct business on the Main-

Mr. Lee is President of the Republic of China.

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land and began semi-official contacts that produced agreements to expand exchanges across the Taiwan Straits.

The rapid success of these activities looked promising for the development of relations with the Mainland, but there was one great disappointment: when we unilaterally renounced the use of force against our compatriots on the Chinese Mainland, the leaders in Peking refused to respond in kind. They continued to insist that they had the right to use force to impose conditions for how Taiwan should be governed under their rule, conditions that would guarantee neither our democratic progress nor our present way of life.

As democracy in Taiwan has advanced, its influence has been far-reaching. Our leaders, representatives, and citizens have begun demanding that the Republic of China be allowed to join the United Nations, the World Trade Organization, and other international bodies. Our people also want normal relations with more countries. The Mainland authorities, however, constantly attempt to thwart our efforts to win the respect of other nations.

After I accepted an invitation to speak in June 1995 at Cornell University, where I received my doctoral degree in agricultural economics, Peking conducted military exercises so close to Taiwan that they could only be interpreted as efforts to harass our people and damage our economy. The maneuvers continued into the fall of 1995 and resumed several weeks before our March 23 elections. The United States even sent two carrier groups to waters off Taiwan to forestall miscalculations and accidents. Our economy was not seriously affected, our people refused to be intimidated, and voting took place peacefully on the scheduled date. This experience shows that if democracies help each other, peace and stability can be guaranteed. The Republic of China can also help preserve peace in the Asia-Pacific region, and it intends to do so.

With the election behind us, we can say to the leadership in Peking that our citizens have voted for peaceful and harmonious relations with the Mainland, and hope the authorities there respond to the various initiatives for economic cooperation that we have offered.

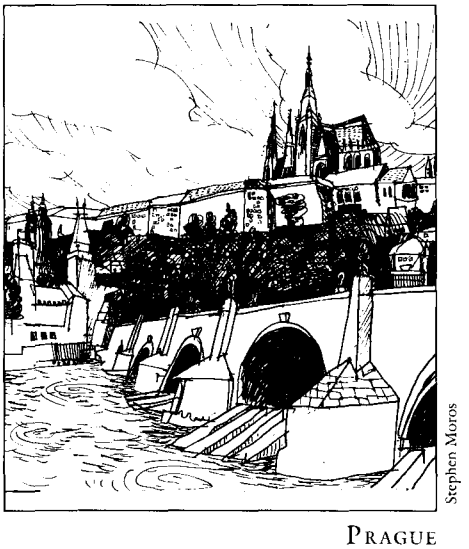
We stand ready to consider joint economic ventures to help the Mainland restructure its state enterprises and establish a modern market economy. The ROC would also gladly assist the Mainland with agricultural development, my own area of expertise.

As the Chinese Mainland undertakes economic reform, continues to experiment with elections, and tries to educate its people—tasks that are a great challenge for a nation of more than one billion people—it will need all the assistance that the outside world can offer. The Republic of China is ready to help.

As the twenty-first century draws closer, the two Chinese societies face an historic challenge: to set aside our differences and work with sincerity to establish new cooperative relations, lest our mistrust deepen, leading to more friction and even tragic miscalculation. The people of the Republic of China have succeeded in establishing the first Chinese democracy. Our democracy deserves its rightful place in the world order. We want peace and cooperation with the Mainland. With peace and cooperation between our two societies, Chinese civilization can become a force of virtue and benevolence for this region and eventually the world. □

Atlantic Celebration

PETER W. RODMAN



Stephen Muros

PRAGUE

THE Congress of Prague convened on May 10 in Hradcany Castle, the city's spectacular sixteenth-century citadel, in the ornate gallery of Emperor Rudolf II. The buzzing of conversation was interrupted by the blaring of a trumpet fanfare, as in walked Czech President Vaclav Havel leading a procession of dignitaries including Margaret Thatcher, Karel Schwarzenberg of the Bohemia Foundation, former U.S. Ambassador Edward Streator, and *NR* editor John O'Sullivan. Havel, the playwright and political prisoner turned statesman, marched with the diffident air of a man who still pinched himself every morning at the wonder of where he had ended up (though he did not appear so diffident, or so surprised, as John O'Sullivan).

Both Havel, in his eloquent keynote speech, and Prime Minister Vaclav Klaus the next day sounded a warning to the gathering. There are external dangers facing the Western democracies, Klaus said, but they are less dangerous than our own deficiencies. Among these he listed isolationist and protectionist tendencies in both Western Europe and America, a nostalgia for statist solutions to social problems, and a hesitation about consolidating Central Europe's place in the Western family.

The Congress of Prague was convened under the banner of the New Atlantic Initiative, led by a group of eminent individuals from the United States, Western Europe, and Central Europe determined to avoid these perils. In broad terms the mission of the Initiative was to reaffirm the moral unity of the Atlantic Community in the new context of democracy's triumph in the Cold War and its spread into Central and Eastern Europe. The honorary patrons of the Initiative and the Congress were Lady Thatcher, Helmut Schmidt, Henry Kissinger, George P. Shultz, former Polish deputy premier Leszek Balcerowicz, and Havel. Its international advisory board included such political figures as Speaker Newt Gingrich and his predecessor Tom Foley, former AFL–CIO president Lane Kirkland, Gen. Colin Powell, Jack Kemp, Jeane Kirkpatrick, Zbigniew Brzezinski, former Polish prime minister Hanna Suchocka, former Dutch prime minister Ruud Lubbers, former Italian foreign minister Antonio Martino, former Delaware governor Pete du Pont, as

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well as intellectual figures such as former Yale dean Donald Kagan, film director Milos Forman, Jean-François Revel, Norman Podhoretz and Midge Decter, Christoph Bertram, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie, and Samuel Huntington.

While the Initiative was conceived by conservatives, the roster above shows the effort that was made to make the endeavor bipartisan. The Prague meeting was attended and addressed by Lady Thatcher, but British delegates included a close political advisor to Tony Blair. Lane Kirkland made a powerful speech endorsing NATO membership for the Central Europeans, as well as a transatlantic free-trade area; former congressman Dave McCurdy and respected diplomat Max Kampelman were also featured speakers. But the strong conservative participation had its special significance: In the era of Pat Buchanan and Ross Perot, Jean-Marie Le Pen, and other phenomena on the fringe, the display of the continued strength of conservative internationalism and commitment to the West's democratic partnerships was not a small matter.

THE themes of the discussion ranged from the broad to the specific. There was a reminder that the moral unity of the West had antedated the Cold War and went deeper than any contest with the Soviet Union; therefore it should not be expected (or allowed) to fragment just because the Soviet threat was gone. This was a feature of both Thatcher's and Klaus's remarks. In the cultural realm, there was a concern at intellectual trends in the West (deconstructionism, multiculturalism) whose thrust was to denigrate the moral and political heritage of Western civilization.

The nervousness of the Central Europeans at the excruciatingly slow pace of admitting them into NATO and the European Union was, of course, another theme. One of the main purposes of the Congress was to demonstrate solidarity with them—to display the commitment of many in America and Western Europe to welcoming them back into the Western fold. (See my "Prague Spring," *NR*, May 6.) The conference was in itself the occasion for intensive networking with young leaders and intellectuals from Central Europe, of a kind that has been a commonplace in the Atlantic context for five decades. The hope, beyond that, was to give political impetus to the decisions of Western governments on both NATO and EU membership.

The pleas of the Central Europeans were powerful: Havel, in his keynote address, warned again, as he has been warning for some time, of the dangers of procrastination and of appeasement. Time was working against the democratic forces in Central Europe, he said, and it was urgent for the West to make firm commitments to embracing and bolstering them. Mrs. Suchocka, too, pointed to the danger of leaving a security vacuum in Central Europe; NATO membership, she argued, was needed as a clear signal to those in Moscow who yearned for the imperial past.

The response of the Western participants was also strong: Thatcher, Lubbers, Kirkland, and others called for rapid NATO and EU enlargement, as did Bob Dole in a congratulatory message sent to the Prague conference.

Another central theme was the overriding necessity to preserve the link between Europe and America. Thus indeed the title, New Atlantic Initiative. The transatlantic free trade area (TAFTA) was endorsed not only for economic but also for strategic and moral reasons—to give the unity of the West a firmer foundation and counter the centrifugal forces of protectionism. Lady Thatcher stressed the centrality of the European–American partnership and warned, with her usual forthrightness, against a European Union that sought to sever or dilute that partnership in either the political, the economic, or the security sphere.

Other topics included emerging common security problems like ballistic missiles and weapons of mass destruction in the hands of rogue states. The urgency of ballistic-missile defense featured in the remarks of Lady Thatcher and Senator Jon Kyl and in the message sent by Senator Dole.

At the end, the participants signed a short Declaration on Atlantic Principles, which had already been scrubbed and endorsed by all the Congress's patrons, from Lady Thatcher to Helmut Schmidt. The document celebrated the heritage of European civilization for its nurturing of the modern universal ideals of political, intellectual, and economic freedom and human rights. It stressed the indispensability of the link between Europe and America. It welcomed the Central European democracies back into the family, calling for early admission to NATO and the EU. The Declaration noted also that the West's vision was not an exclusionary one: it held the door open to partnership with Russia, depending on Russia's own evolution and on its acceptance of the irreversibility of the revolution of 1989. As the conference closed, the organizers announced their intention to keep the New Atlantic Initiative in being and continue its activities.

President Havel in his keynote speech hailed the Declaration of Prague as "an appeal to the conscience of the politicians of the world." But he hoped it would not go the way of other declarations of the past—he cited a proclamation of Czech writers in 1938 warning against appeasement—which fell on deaf ears. Unless the forces of democracy have the courage to shape the new European order, Havel warned, that European order will be shaped by others who do not share our values. This insight was the true message of Prague. □

A Hemp Museum

ANDREW STUTTAFORD

LONDON

THE streets of London, they used to say, were paved with gold. Maybe that is true of the City, the British capital's financial district, but take a walk five minutes to the east, to Shoreditch, and the surroundings are more mundane. Here you will find a theme park of pre-Thatcher Britain. The pub at the end of Redchurch Street is no exception. A drab spot despite its exotic dancer, the White Horse sports a cautious sign noting that Shakespeare is *reputed* to have drunk there. But if the White Horse is timelessly East End, the East End is itself changing. Not so long ago Redchurch Street was part of that old stereotypical London of the Ealing comedies and the kindly bobby. Now it is also home to a mosque, a Bengali grocery store, and, most recently, a cannabis museum.

Located in a nondescript office building, the museum was opened amid some

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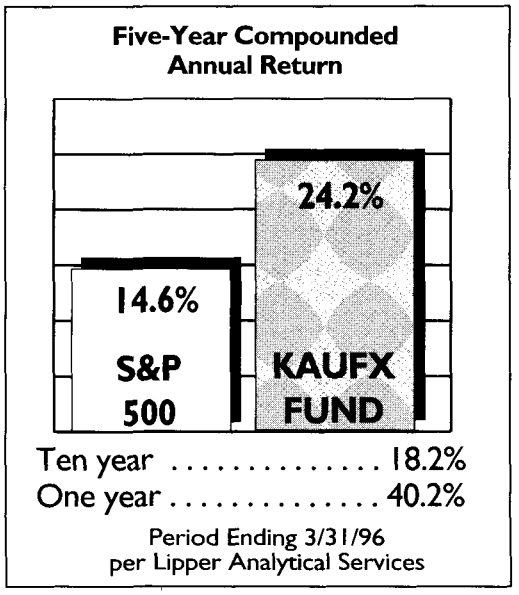

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fanfare in April. Howard Marks—a graduate of both Balliol College, Oxford (politics, philosophy, and economics), and the American prison system (cannabis smuggling)—was the guest of honor. The press came, and so did the police. There are, of course, drug laws in Britain, and a wide range of "hemp" products was on display. Hemp? The police were wise to that alias. Hemp is also known as *Cannabis sativa*, a name it received, somewhat alarmingly, from the Emperor Nero's surgeon. No contraband was found, however. The hemp jeans passed muster. Even the revolting "Hemp 9," a "high energy protein mixed seed bar," was allowed. British law, that is, permits the manufacture of hemp products so long as they contain no more than 0.3 per cent tetrahydrocannabinol, hemp's narcotic element. Smoking a hemp T-shirt would be a waste of time; even Bill Clinton could inhale.

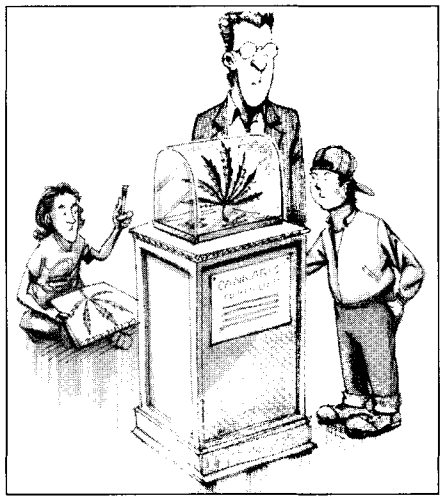
The police left satisfied, as well they might. For Redchurch Street is the acceptable face of cannabis. Part Ripley (George Washington grew it! Queen Victoria took it!), part agitprop vehicle, the museum is relentlessly upbeat. It is, after all, run by CHIC, the Cannabis and Hemp Information Club. The aim is to "inform and educate people about the history and many uses of this incredibly versatile plant."

Cheery, if occasionally misspelt (a side effect?), posters accentuate the positive. Cannabis, it seems, can be turned into mighty ropes, excellent paper, and an ecologically sound fuel. It can be used to treat glaucoma and relieve the nausea associated with chemotherapy. Fans of the former British foreign minister will be glad to know that cannabis "hurd" (its inner stalk) can be mixed with lime and water to produce a building material more durable than concrete. Finally, and this is a clinching argument in an era of anxious English mealtimes, hemp might make a healthier animal feed. Given that Britain's maddened cattle seem to have been subsisting on abattoir sweepings, this must be right. There have, after all, been no cases of stoned-cow disease.

CHIC makes an impressive case. Cannabis does indeed seem "incredibly versatile." So versatile, in fact, that visitors may feel a vague sense of resentment against this leafy overachiever—until, that is, they discover its little weakness. Cannabis is, as one display notes, also "a social intoxicant," safer perhaps than some of those available at the White Horse, but an intoxicant nonetheless.

And this, of course, is the source of the problem. It is the intoxication that enrages an officialdom that once warned (in a possibly misguided approach), that cannabis could lead to "weird orgies, wild parties, and unleashed passions." It is the intoxication that interests users. No one would risk jail time for something that was just a building material. It is unlikely that there will ever be, say, a stucco museum on Redchurch Street. With consumers enthusiastic and governments appalled, disaster was inevitable.

Sure enough, the saddest section of the exhibit describes the progress of the American war against cannabis, a miserable saga of mounting ferocity and futility. Prison photographs of the detained



Dennis Dittrich

line the walls. They pose awkwardly with their families, standing in front of backdrops painted to give an illusion of somewhere, anywhere, other than the penitentiary. The faces, carefully selected no doubt, look innocent, and the injustice on display appears horrifying.

Wisely, perhaps, there is no discussion of cannabis's rougher associates: London will have to wait a while for a crack museum. The connection between the use of cannabis and of other drugs is never explored. Does one lead inexorably to the other, or are rising rates of hard-drug consumption an inevitable consequence of prohibition? *NR* discussed these sorts of issues a few weeks ago, but its rational approach would not win many friends in Redchurch Street. The museum's amiable staff may have been born too late for Woodstock, but they are hippies *pur et dur*, albeit with a Nineties twist: "Please respect our No Smoking policy."

Hippies were never too keen on logic. The positive impact of much of the exhibit begins to dissipate the moment one is told that smoking grass is part of the "permaculture." Indian spirituality makes its inevitable appearance. Wasn't that a poster of Ganesha, elephant god and popular head-shop deity, on the wall? Zany politics are also on view, most prominently in the shape of a large, unfinished, *papier mâché* display, in which a clumsily executed factory appeared to be menacing idyllic pasture. As artworks go, it was a shambles, but the message was clear: Industry is bad. We need to return to a simpler life, and hemp would show the way. "Industry" had, it was argued, played no small part in the banning of cannabis in the first place. There had, surprise, been a conspiracy. DuPont, no less, had been a force behind the original anti-cannabis legislation for commercial motives of its own (bleaching chemicals for pulp—it's a long story). As CHIC explains, "It is only when governments stop protecting the interests of the multinationals that we will be free to benefit fully from cannabis."

Well, maybe, but it is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the museum's case for cannabis is getting muddled at this point. Some environmentally flavored Marxism seems to have been thrown into the mix. It does not belong there. At its core the argument for legalizing cannabis ought to rest on a fairly restrictive view of the rights and capabilities of government. This is not an approach normally associated with the paranoid Left—or the EPA, for that matter. A commissar is still a commissar, even if he does drugs.

Maybe this is just carping and the confusion is to be expected. We live, after all, in an absurd time, when even the medicinal use of cannabis is prohibited. An honest discussion of drug policy seems all but impossible. The Cannabis Museum does at least raise some serious questions. Perhaps it is too much to expect more. Since only the bravest politician will question prohibition, debate has, with notable exceptions, become the preserve of the eccentric and the obsessed. Meanwhile, drug-related problems worsen and the official approach will continue unaltered, unsuccessful and ugly.

Sadly, it will take more than CHIC to change this. □

Mr. Stuttaford is a writer based in New York City.

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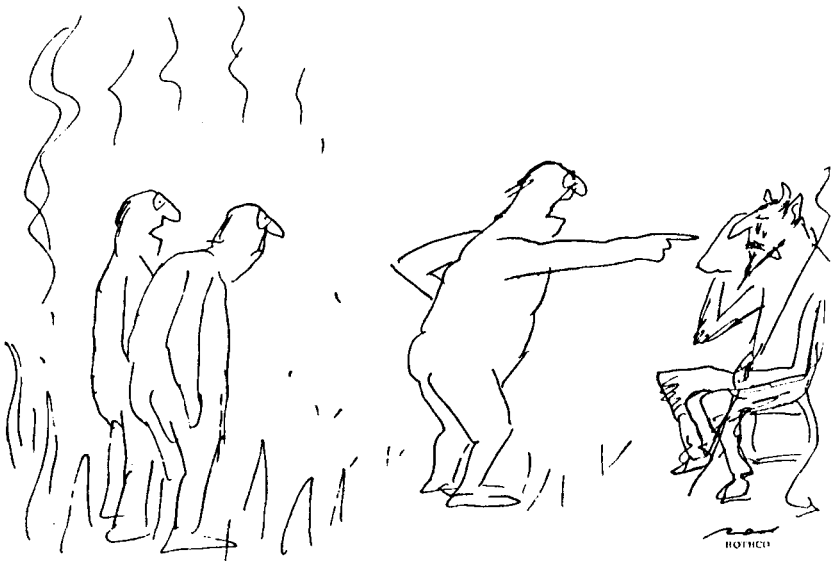
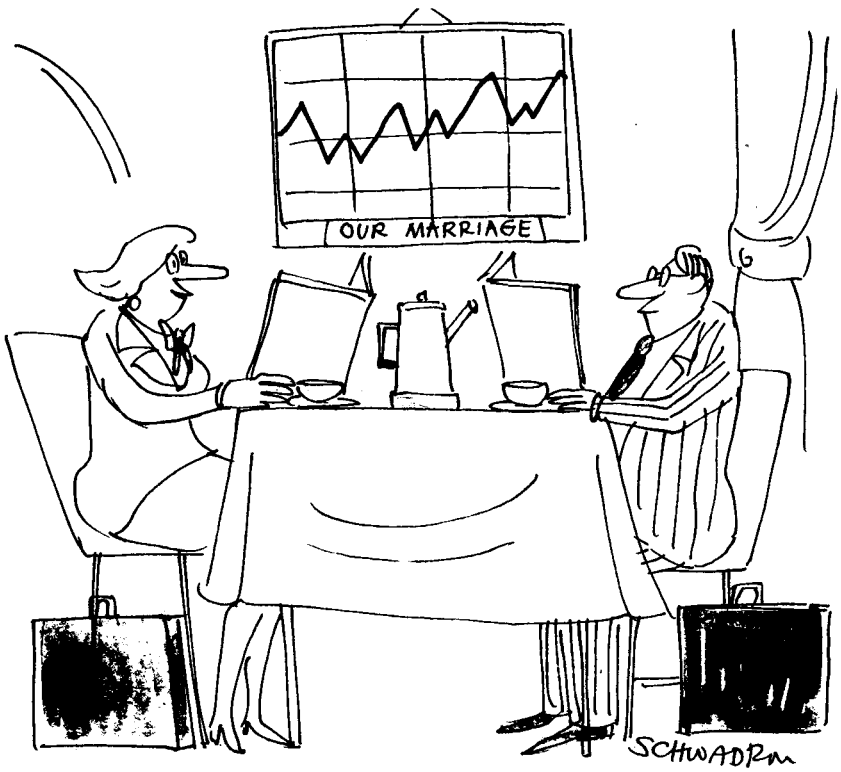


"He was a great prosecuter, and still is."

Rock Singer

Tortured
All his movements,
A man in mindless shock,
Outstretched and roaring on the rack
Of rock.

—GLORIA A. MAXSON



"If you think the Lord *moves in mysterious ways, you should see my Mom with her work-out tape."*

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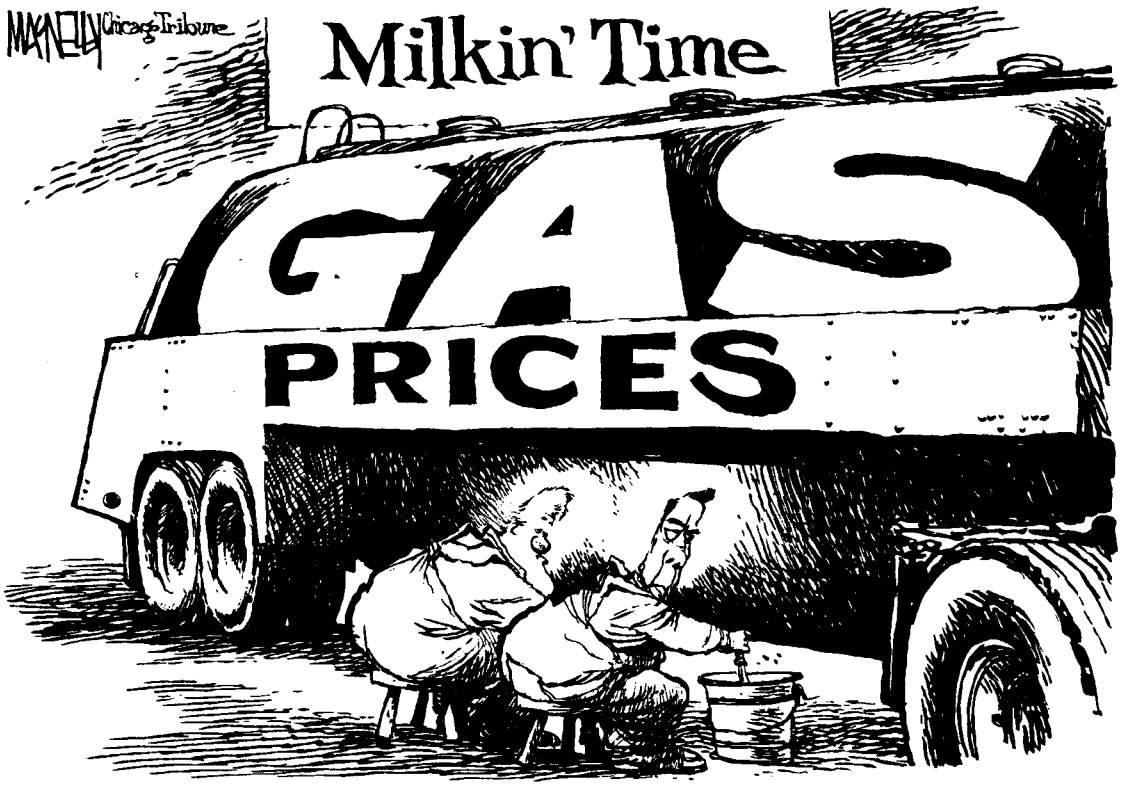

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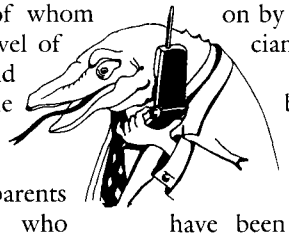
GEKKO

I'VE just seen a movie called *The Craft* in which teenaged California girls pay a terrible price for casting evil spells. I couldn't help thinking of portfolio managers, many of whom are educated to about the level of teenaged California girls, and who may also pay a terrible price as their wishes are answered. In *The Craft*, the girls wish ill on their stepparents and high-school classmates, who lose their lives, or, worse, their hair and popularity through the magic of witchcraft. In *The Economy*, the portfolio managers wish their fellow citizens would lose their jobs through the magic of monetary policy. The girls want money, dates, and beauty, the managers want year-end bonuses.



Part of the problem the *Craft* girls have is that their understanding of witchcraft is pretty superficial. The same could be said about the managers and monetary policy. Back in the Seventies and early Eighties, we used to await the weekly M-1 or M-2 numbers with awe and foreboding. My then-wife, who traded in the Eurobond market at the time, actually went out of her way to get invitations to eat in the Fed cafeteria. She came back physically ill from the food and the contemplation of some of the Fedlings' table manners, but the chatter about money supply was worth it.

In recent years, though, the Temple of Money Supply has gradually emptied, and the Number worshipped by the market has become the monthly non-farm payroll statistic. The market had noticed that the traditional M-1 and M-2 figures weren't really very good at predicting how the economy would perform. The problem, in part, was that rising interest rates, and the increasing ease with which money could be transferred from non-interest-bearing checking accounts to various types of interest-bearing accounts, severely disrupted the continuity of the statistical series.

So nowadays, many a moneyperson has been up in the still, dark hours on the Thursdays before Non-Farm, looking into his soul and counting the cost of a long or short position. The fewer people employed, the better, an irony not unremarked on by working people and politicians.

Lately, though, there's been a revival of the old religion. The faithful ladies in the pews of the Money Supply Temple have been joined by an increasing number of young, well-educated speculators who have decided to follow MZM, which I believe will displace the non-farm-employment payroll number. MZM, or Money of Zero Maturity, has been put together by monetary economists from the shards of the M-1 and M-2 series. When you draw a graph of MZM as a time series, and shift it two years into the future, it has a very high correlation with the real growth of Gross Domestic Product. Like a better than 75 per cent correlation. You can do the same thing with the Fed Funds rate, by the way.

So, I hear you asking, what does time-shifted MZM tell us about our future? Say, the future just before the next elections?

The answer is that growth follows the path of a wounded bird in the second half of the year. That will be a consequence of, inter alia, the Federal Reserve tightening that caused the 1994 bond crash. The effects start showing up now. But while the bird generally has an idea that something is wrong on a real-time basis, there is a significant lag before economic news, good or bad, is absorbed by the public. And since the semi-official Sunday-morning Washington talk-show hosts have decided that the economy is rapidly improving, the Dole campaign (such as it is) had better get on top of the issue: the Clinton slide that comes after the crunch.

"Please be generous, sir, I have to meet a margin call."

■ Well before the election, though, there'll be another crisis to rock the political world, one just as predictable and just as unanticipated by those people. That is the grain shortfall.

You may recall that I started talking about this last year, back when wheat was selling for $4.43 a bushel. As I write this, July wheat just closed at $5.80 in Chicago, after falling 17 cents on an overly optimistic Department of Agriculture report.

I have found Tom Waldeck of Northwood Financial in Greenwich, Conn., to be far and away the best analyst of the grain markets. We talked over the USDA report and its suggestion that we—meaning people who have to eat—don't have too much to worry about.

"The impression you get from the Department of Agriculture is totally wrong," said Tom. "The production numbers they are using are far too optimistic. For example, they are relying on a Canadian Wheat Board estimate of 29 million tonnes of production in their country that I know is not achievable because of weather." Crops are also being overestimated in the U.S., Eastern Europe, and the former Soviet Union. The real problem, Waldeck believes, is that production for this year is falling short at a faster rate than demand is declining because of higher prices.

Take corn. The corn harvest starts coming in at the end of September. The U.S. consumes and exports between 600 million and 700 million tonnes of corn a month. At the end of August last year, we had a low, but workable, reserve or "carryover" of 1.558 billion bushels of corn. At the end of this coming August, we will have a little over 300 million bushels, some of which is unavailable for us.

So how do we get enough corn to get through to the end of September? Does Senator Dole have anything to say about the issue?

—JOHN DIZARD

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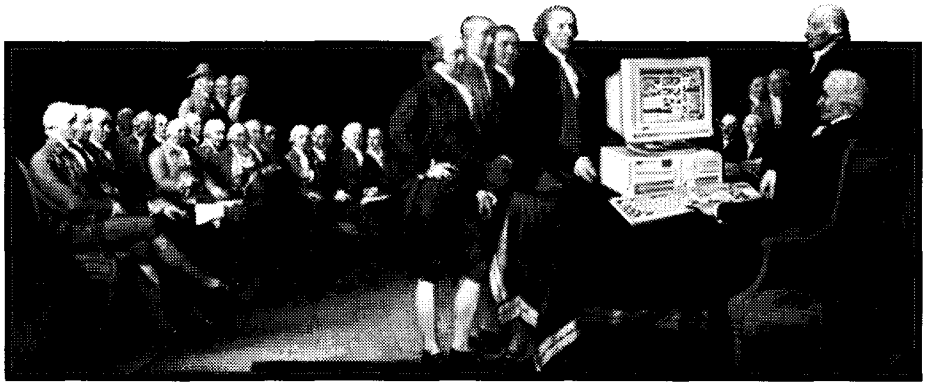

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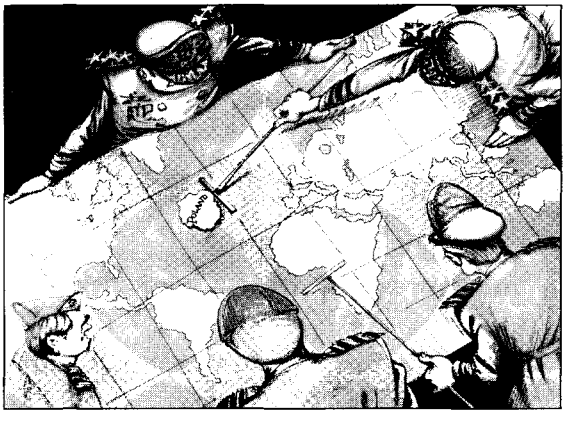
Poland and NATO

As the rising star of Central Europe, Poland may soon offer NATO more than just a new Western front.

DAVID D. HALE & ANNA HEJKA-ARCZYNSKA

THE issue of NATO membership for the Central European countries, and especially Poland, is likely to heat up this summer, chiefly because of two presidential elections—Russia's in June, and America's in November. There are over nine million people of Polish ancestry in the United States, and many of them are clustered in the six Great Lakes states, which have about one hundred electoral votes. Most political leaders in both the U.S. and Europe have already expressed sympathy for Polish membership in NATO, but they have not focused on the cost of providing Poland with a security guarantee or the complications that Polish membership could create for Amerizca's relations with Russia. Both issues could become far more challenging if the Communist Party regains control of the Russian presidency from Boris Yeltsin.



It is doubtful that the Communist candidate, Gennady Zyuganov, or any other post-Yeltsin leader would pose an immediate threat to Central Europe. The Russian military is probably weaker today than at any other time since 1917, and the major foreign-policy focus of any Russian government will be the countries of the former Soviet Union, not the Warsaw Pact. But the election of a Communist or nationalist government in Moscow could have several adverse effects on Central Europe.

First, it might cause international investors to be more cautious about deploying capital to the region and thus retard the promising economic upturns in Poland, the Czech Republic, and, especially, Hungary.

Second, it might encourage capital flight on the part of the Poles, Czechs, and Hungarians themselves. All three countries are moving toward membership in the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development and thus will have to relax their foreign-exchange controls. As a result of their historical experience with Russia, the affluent classes in all three countries will be very sensitive to political developments there.

The Poles will be especially apprehensive because of their long, tortured relationship with Russia. Poland is the leading Catholic country in the Slavic world, while Russia's historical roots lie in Byzantium. The two countries were rivals during the Middle Ages, and a Polish army occupied Moscow in the early seventeenth century. However, feudal conflicts within Poland's unique system of elective kingship undermined Poland's power, and it became de facto a Russian protectorate in 1717. Russia played a decisive role in the three partitions that eliminated the country's independence in the late eighteenth century. Lenin fought a three-year war with Poland after the country regained independence in 1918. Stalin set the stage for Poland's second liquidation in 1939 by signing the Molotov–Ribbentrop pact with Hitler, and established a Communist regime in Warsaw when the war ended.

Third, as the countries of Central Europe still have large numbers of ex-Communists in positions of power, uncertainty about Russian foreign-policy intentions could provoke new concerns about the loyalty of important local political and business leaders. Such concerns will be a distraction both from economic development and from the creation of healthy institutions.

Finally, if the Central European countries are uncertain about their security position, they might be tempted to pursue alliances with Ukraine and the Baltic states. Poland has already encouraged Ukraine to retain its nuclear weapons. If Russia threatened the sovereignty of Ukraine, Belarus, and the Baltic states, it would not be

Mr. Hale is Chief Economist and Senior Vice President of Zurich Kemper Investments, Inc. Mrs. Hejka-Arczynska is Chairman of the Hejka-Arczynska Group, an investment-banking and fund-management organization focusing on Poland.

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difficult to imagine Polish nationalist groups offering them covert military assistance. The best way for NATO to minimize the potential involvement of Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary in conflicts on their eastern frontier would be to integrate them into the Western security system.

The debate about NATO expansion focuses on Poland because she has the potential to alter the balance of power in Europe in ways the Czech Republic, Hungary, and Slovakia do not. So far, the discussion has focused only on the potential costs to existing NATO members. But the debate should also take account of Poland's tremendous economic progress since the fall of Communism and its potential to emerge as one of Europe's most dynamic countries during the next quarter-century. As a result of economic and demographic trends, it is not difficult to construct scenarios in which Poland could become a highly valuable member of the NATO alliance in the twenty-first century.

Poland has the potential to emerge as one of Europe's most dynamic countries in the next quarter-century.

First, Poland has a land area of 120,727 square miles, making it nearly as big as Germany. Its population, currently 39 million, will soon place it seventh in Europe after Russia, Germany, Britain, France, Italy, and Ukraine. Poland, still 95 per cent Catholic, also has a much younger population than most other European countries. In the early 1980s, Poland's birth rate was 2.4 per cent, compared to 1.0 to 1.4 per cent in much of continental Europe and 1.8 per cent in the United States. The Polish birth rate has fallen to less than 2.0 per cent since 1989 because of the social shocks resulting from the transition to a market economy, but the birth rate could revive as people regain confidence in the economic outlook. If we extrapolate from current trends, Poland will continue to have a much younger population than other European countries far into the next century—a total population of 43 million in the year 2050, with 34.8 million people under the age of 65.

In the six largest European members of NATO, by contrast, the number of people under 65 will fall from 264 million today to 200 million by the year 2050. In Germany, if current trends continue, the total population will fall from 81 million to 64 million and the population under 65 will decline from 69 million to 34 million. In France and Britain, there will be some modest growth of population during the next half-century, but the under-65 population in Britain will decline from 49 million to 47.8 million; in France, from 49.4 million to 45.7 million.

The other countries of Central and Eastern Europe will also be aging more rapidly than Poland. Only Slovakia is expected to experience an expansion in the younger part of its population comparable to Poland's because it has many of the same social and religious characteristics. Slovakia's total population is expected to grow from 5.3 million to 6.3 million. In Russia, meanwhile, the total population will fall from 147 million to 129.6 million, and the under-65 population will shrink from 129 million to 101 million. In Ukraine, the population will fall from 51 million to 47 million, and the under-65 population from 44 million to 37 million.

ONE result of these population trends is that Poland is likely to have one of the largest potential supplies of military manpower on the European continent in the year 2050. While high-technology warfare may make these demographic trends less important, the fact remains that it will be much easier to defend Germany in the twenty-first century if Poland is a military ally of NATO than if it is neutral or, worse yet, re-allied with Russia.

Second, Poland's economy is currently growing faster than that of any other European country. It expanded by nearly 7 per cent during 1995 and will probably grow by another 6 per cent during 1996. In spite of large output losses during the first two years of the transition from Communism, Poland has enjoyed significant growth in exports to Western Europe and an entrepreneurial revolution at home. As a result of the many small businesses that survived under Communism and the return of experienced businessmen from Poland's vast diaspora of 17 million people in the U.S., Australia, Britain, and Western Europe, Poland has quickly developed a more dynamic private sector than any other country in the former Soviet Bloc. The private sector now produces over two-thirds of the Polish economy's output and has created nearly 6 million new jobs since 1989. The European Union, by contrast, has produced fewer than 2 million jobs since 1989 in both its public and its private sectors. Poland's national unemployment rate is still 14 per cent because of rationalization in old labor-intensive industries, such as coal mining; but in the large commercial centers, such as Warsaw, Poznan, and Cracow, unemployment is less than 5 per cent.

The odds are good that Poland will be able to maintain a high rate of economic growth, because the country's economic structure is very similar to that of Western Europe during its high-growth era forty years ago. About 20 per cent of the population is still employed in agriculture and can now be moved to higher value-added sectors. As Poland is committed to joining the OECD and the European Union, it also has relatively liberal trade policies. Its economy is becoming integrated with Western Europe's far more quickly than Spain's and Portugal's were before they joined the European Union. Poland now sends about 71 per cent of its exports to the European Union, compared to an average of 62 per cent for all the newly market-oriented economies of Central Europe. Multinational companies are so excited about Poland's economic potential that they will probably invest $3 billion in the country's manufacturing sector in 1996.

Poland's geopolitical position on Europe's traditional borderland, which created security problems in the past, is now regarded as an advantage by many Western companies. In 1988, Poland sent about 44 per cent of her exports to the Soviet Union and other countries in Eastern

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Europe, compared to less than 14 per cent today. But with the Russian economy showing signs of stabilizing, Polish exports to Russia and Ukraine rebounded sharply during 1995 and could rise further in the future if those countries complete the transition to a market economy.

THIRD, Poland has a far more homogeneous population than ever before in its history. Indeed, it has one of the most homogeneous populations in Europe today. During the Middle Ages, the Poles had an empire stretching from the Baltic Sea to the Black Sea. After World War I, almost one-third of the population consisted of ethnic minorities. The Ukrainians in eastern Poland lobbied constantly for more political autonomy, while there were divisive referenda in the west on how to draw the boundaries between Germany and Poland. The German minorities left in Poland were unhappy about the transfer of sovereignty to Warsaw and thus were supportive of Hitler's invasion twenty years later. However, all that was changed by the political boundary shifts that followed World War II.

The weak link in Poland's transition to a successful market economy has been the political system. The country is still operating under an interim constitution which provides for both a prime minister elected by the parliament and a directly elected president who has many of the same powers as the president of France. President Walesa often clashed with the prime ministers he served with, whether they were chosen by his own coalition, before the 1993 election, or by the post-Communist parties that dominated the parliament after that election. As a result of these disputes, there were six prime ministers during the first five years after the fall of Communism. The Italian-style rotation of prime ministers slowed the privatization of many state enterprises during the early 1990s.

While Poland's economic reformers have created a dynamic new private sector, they still face both macro- and micro-economic challenges. Despite the relatively young population, Poland spends extravagantly on pensions because of the generous benefits enacted four years ago to ease the transition from Communism. According to the World Bank, these benefits, which are financed by a high level of taxation on labor income, have grown from 9 per cent of GDP in 1988 to over 16 per cent recently. Poland must now create a system of private pensions in order to reduce government spending and encourage the development of healthy capital markets for absorbing the growth of institutionalized savings flows.

Poland is enacting legislation to create an independent central bank and has a ratio of public debt to GNP that is below the Maastricht target of 60 per cent. However, its inflation rate is still 20 per cent and will probably not decline below 5 per cent until the twenty-first century. Poland currently spends just over 2 per cent of GDP on defense, and the West will most certainly expect it to spend more if it joins NATO. While Poland is in the process of privatizing most state-owned companies, it does not have well-defined competition policies; as a result, there are proposals before the parliament to give industry trade associations regulatory powers over issues such as pricing; this is all too likely to encourage cartel-like behavior. Poland also has been slow to develop a policy for deregulating its telecommunications sector; if it does not permit greater competition, the country's emerging high-tech companies will find access to the Internet more expensive than Europe.

In the inter-war years, Poland suffered from deep political divisions over issues such as income distribution and the status of ethnic minorities. Today, by contrast, there is a broad consensus both among the public and among political leaders on the basic goals of government policy. The major opposition to structural reform comes not from the former Communists, but from the Peasant Party. As with rural interest groups in many industrial countries, the Peasant Party is afraid that the growth of the market economy will erode the power of the countryside. Despite the attempts of Mr. Walesa to portray the new president, Aleksander Kwasniewski, as a throwback to Communism, he is a modern European social democrat committed to bringing his country into NATO and the European Union. He joined the Communist Party in the late 1970s because he was a political opportunist, not because of any deep ideological convictions. Mr. Kwasniewski says that his political role-model is Felippe Gonzales, the first socialist prime minister of Spain after the death of Franco.

The major vacuum in Polish politics is the lack of a strong and coherent liberal party with roots in the movement that originally opposed Communism. The former finance minister, Leszek Balcerowicz, is trying to create such a party under the Freedom Union banner, but the party has such deep divisions that its electoral prospects remain uncertain. In fact, there is increasing speculation that

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the best way to promote further market-oriented reform would be for the Freedom Union to form a coalition with the ex-Communists against the Peasant Party.

There is no doubt that admission to the European Union and NATO will be the central driving force in Poland's foreign and domestic policies during the final years of this century. Mr. Kwasniewski tried to demonstrate this fact by making his first trip abroad as president a trip to Brussels for meetings with both NATO and EU officials. The slow pace at which the Western Alliance responded to Serbian aggression against Bosnia and Croatia coupled with Poland's own history in 1939 will make Central Europeans uncomfortable about their security position until they have gained full admission into the Western Alliance.

Admission to the European Union and NATO will be the central driving force in Poland's foreign and domestic policies during the final years of the century.

It is often suggested that Poland should pursue membership in the European Union ahead of membership in NATO, but it is doubtful that Poland could obtain full membership in the EU until 2002 at the earliest. As with Spain and Portugal in the early 1980s, Poland and the other Visegrad countries will have to engage in multi-year negotiations on a number of potentially complex issues, especially agricultural subsidies. As nearly one-fourth of the Polish population is still employed in agriculture, it is difficult to believe that Poland will be able to enter more quickly than Spain.

Poland's situation vis-à-vis the European Union today also differs from Spain's and Portugal's in the 1980s because of pending structural changes in the nature of the community itself. The Germans and French are so deeply committed to the idea of European monetary union that they, along with four to six other countries (the Benelux countries, Austria, and Ireland) are likely to form such a union by the end of the century. Italy, Sweden, Spain, and Portugal will want to join at some point but will probably require several more years to reduce their budget deficits and inflation rates sufficiently. Britain could qualify at any time but is deeply divided on the principle of monetary union itself.

As a result, it is possible to imagine a multi-dimensional Europe emerging during the early years of the twenty-first century. There will be a hard core of six to eight countries sharing a common currency, while other members will retain independent currencies, and still others will be moving toward full membership but with extended transition periods for key sectors such as agriculture.

If Russia is perceived to be a potential menace, it is possible that Germany will attempt to encourage more rapid admission into the Union for Poland, the Czech Republic, and Hungary. However, it is questionable that membership in the European Union would be a security alternative to NATO for three reasons.

First, it is difficult to imagine France, Spain, Ireland, or Greece permitting rapid admission of the countries of Eastern Europe unless there is an extreme political risk from Russia. They will want to proceed slowly in expanding the Union because of the risk that agricultural subsidies and structural-adjustment programs would be diverted away from their own populations. Some French officials regard Polish membership in the European Union in balance-of-power terms—as offsetting the new Germany—but if European monetary union occurs, the French will be less apprehensive about losing their ability to influence Germany.

Second, the creation of a monetary union is going to alter perceptions of the nature of the European community itself. Finland may attempt to join the monetary union despite its vulnerability to deflationary monetary policies in Frankfurt because it does not want to be perceived as a second-tier member for security reasons. Imagine how Poland would be perceived if it were only a transitional member of the European trade area without any immediate prospects of joining the monetary union.

Third, the European Union does not have a strong military dimension independent of NATO and thus would not be regarded as a credible security shield by the countries of Central Europe.

IN 1994, the former Polish defense minister, Janusz Onyszkiewicz, boasted that Poland was the only true European superpower at the end of the twentieth century: "In 1989, we set in motion a non-violent revolution which caused all three countries on our frontier to disintegrate. In 1994, the Soviet Union, the German Democratic Republic, and Czechoslovakia no longer exist. We now have a frontier with seven countries, not three. What other country has achieved so much at such a low cost?"

While Mr. Onyszkiewicz intended irony, the fact remains that Poland has more potential than any other country in the former Soviet Bloc to emerge as an important European middle power during the next quarter-century. Her population is young. Her economy is robust. Her culture is pro-Western. Her electorate favors the integration of Poland into NATO and the European Union as rapidly as circumstances will permit. All that remains is for political leaders in Washington, Brussels, and other Western capitals to recognize that Poland will not be another drain on NATO and the European Union but instead has the potential to be a vigorous and energetic member of the Western Alliance at a time when many other European countries will be suffering from stagnant economies, aging populations, and systemic fiscal crises. In fact, the biggest risk to Poland is that the great vitality now apparent in her economy will be gradually undermined by her location on a continent crippled by high taxation, excessive social regulation, and the greatest population contraction ever to occur in the developed world since the Industrial Revolution began. By the year 2025, Poland may want to abandon Europe and pursue membership in NAFTA and ASEAN. □

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THE PARANOID MIND

Bloody Murderers

Potential mass murderers are everywhere, and there is not very much we can do to stop them.

EUGENE H. METHVIN

OVER the past two months the world has experienced a mini-epidemic of mass killings by men possessed with strange rages.

On March 13, the 43-year-old Thomas Watt Hamilton walked into an elementary school in Dunblane, Scotland, armed with two Browning 9-mm automatics and two .357 magnum revolvers. He blasted away, killing a teacher and 16 five- and six-year-old children, and wounding 14 more. Then Hamilton killed himself.

Eight days later in the New York City suburb of Eastchester, Richard Sacchi, 26, called police to his home and shot the first two who arrived, killing one. For two hours he blasted away at reinforcing officers. He killed his 88-year-old grandmother, with whom he lived. Finally he killed himself. Laid out in the room were a black shirt and suit with a note that said, "clothes for me funiral," and on a wall Sacchi had scribbled in pencil, "Jesus, forgive me for my sins. I will see you in eternity," and, "My dad is the best dad in the world."

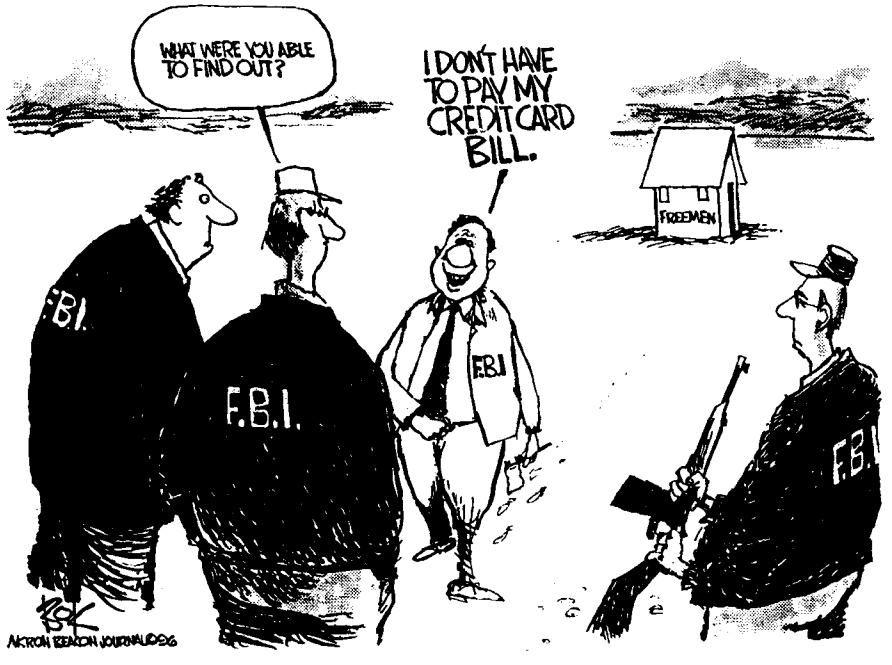
On April 6 in Vernon, British Columbia, an estranged husband, with a gun in each hand, invaded the home of his wife's family as they prepared for another daughter's wedding later that day. The gunman killed nine family members, then himself.

On April 28 on the Australian island of Tasmania, at a crowded tourist site, Martin Bryant, 29, killed 35 people. He fled to a guest house which, after a 12-hour standoff, he set afire. His clothes in flames, he ran out, badly burned, and was captured.

While details varied, the killers' profiles were remarkably similar: "loners," troubled social isolates, pariahs, men brimming with grievance and rage. The Scottish killer's neighbors called him "a weirdo," and New York's was called "an outcast." Tasmania's was "an eccentric loner." Richard Sacchi had been in constant trouble with the law since his early teens, sent to "special education" classes, institutionalized; at the time of his rampage he was soon to begin a 30-day jail sentence for stalking his ex-wife. Thomas Hamilton had been expelled as a Boy Scout leader at age 21 and had lived for the subsequent 22 years obviously struggling, with some success, against pedophilic inclinations; police investigated complaints by parents but never found sufficient evidence to prosecute. Martin Bryant had suffered mood swings and mental problems. A neighbor whose property abutted his farm told how she and her husband went to introduce themselves. Bryant threatened to shoot them and ran them off. Another neighbor, Scott Goldsmith, said, "He was polite and well-spoken. Never aggressive. But he had a strange look. His eyes were sort of blank. It's a look you always remember."

A striking fact is that mass killers uniformly turn out to be pained, miserable people who often have reached out for psychiatric help before their deadly outbursts. Their rational brain—that "wrinkled rind of rationality" in the cerebral cortex, laid on late in human evolution over the emotional limbic system—tells them their raging internal demons are abnormal. When their murderous rage finally breaks out, they usually wind up killing themselves or arranging an almost inevitable death at the hands of police.

"A LONER, abusive father and husband," said acquaintances of R. Gene Simmons, the 47-year-old retired Air Force master sergeant who shot, clubbed, or strangled 16 people, mostly relatives, in Russellville, Ark., in 1988. Oklahoma neighbors considered Patrick Henry Sherrill, a 44-year-old ex-Marine postal worker, "a very strange person." "I never saw him smile or laugh," said one. Sherrill feuded with neighborhood teenagers who taunted him and called him "Crazy Pat." Threatened with dismissal by Post Office supervisors, "Crazy Pat" killed 14



Mr. Methvin is a senior editor emeritus at Reader's Digest.

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Question: What do Gertrude Himmelfarb, Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, Marvin Olasky, John DiIulio, William Galston, William Kristol, Michael Medved, Mary Ann Glendon, Hadley Arkes, and Robert Casey, have in common?

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co-workers, wounded another 7, then killed himself.

A Chicago psychiatrist, Dr. Helen L. Morrison, has studied dozens of serial killers and mass killers. She finds comprehensive and revealing differences. The serial killer [see "The Face of Evil," *NR*, Jan. 23, 1995] goes off the track of normal psychological development early, and never seems to develop emotionally beyond about six months of age.

"The mass killer's development has proceeded at least through the point of becoming a full psychological human being," says Dr. Morrison. "But he regresses to a paranoid rageful state, usually precipitated six months to a year before by some loss, of a person or a position, and the immediate trigger is some kind of perceived slight." Mixed with the paranoid delusions of persecution are hidden grandiosity and narcissism.

Many mass killers are obvious paranoid schizophrenics suffering terrible delusions of persecution and driven by voices urging them to murder. At the State University of New York at Albany in 1994, the 26-year-old Ralph J. Tortorici held 35 students hostage, threatening to kill them if he were not allowed to talk to Governor Cuomo and President Clinton. The reason he needed to talk with them was to get them to force doctors at the local medical center to admit they put a microchip in his brain when he was born. Fortunately one brave young man jumped Tortorici, suffering a thigh wound, and others piled on, flattening the gunman.

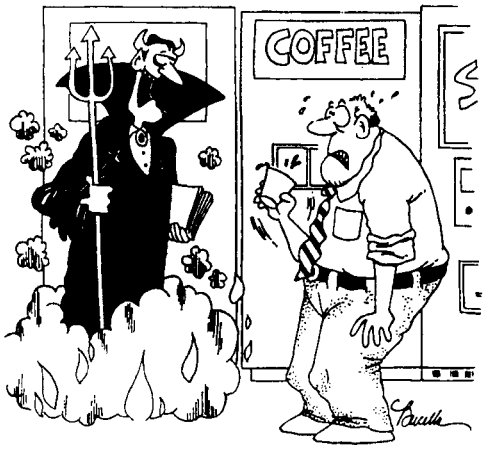
The United States has an estimated two million adult victims of schizophrenia—a catchall term like "cancer" that covers a variety of kindred brain disorders. The formal diagnosis is applied only to those who have had psychotic breaks—hallucinations, delusions, and such. But another estimated 10 million to 25 million—5 to 10 per cent of the population—are "borderline" or "schizoid" personalities. They go through life as emotional cripples. A common symptom is anhedonia, the inability to experience pleasure.

Tulane Medical School neuroscientist Dr. Robert Heath pioneered long-term deep-brain electrode implants and first mapped the brain's pleasure/pain mechanisms. He found that the central pleasure center is the septal region, related clumps of limbic-system cells located a couple of inches behind the forehead. It is the center of alertness, interest, enthusiasm, and excitement, including sexual excitement. In the schizophrenics he studied, the septum was dead as a dead car battery on a subzero day.

In healthy individuals the pleasure/pain systems are evenly balanced so that they can react delicately to stimuli from the environment, or from the brain's memory banks. But when the pleasure circuitry is defective, the anger generators, the amygdalas and hippocampuses in the temporal lobes, may run wild, producing uncontrollable fear and rage.

Dr. Sandor Rado found that schizoid patients with these neurological defects go through life "without the guidance of affectionate feelings, much like navigating without a compass. The schizotype uses his intellect to organize responses which in normal people arise spontaneously from warm feeling and thought. Since he cannot spontaneously express these emotions, he unwittingly imitates their display by others. Cold thought organizes responses that ordinarily spring from warm feeling." These people learn to compensate and fake; they laugh because they see others doing so, not because they experience fun or delight. Fear, rage, guilt, and hate—pervasive emergency emotions—dominate and drive schizoids. They often resort to drugs in a pathetic effort to self-medicate.

Clearly, the mass media have a "cueing" effect on some among the millions of such schizoid personalities. When one of them runs amok, he may spawn a psychological contagion among others who have managed so far to control their suicidal and homicidal demons. Nothing new about that: in the eighteenth century Goethe's novel *The Sorrows of Young Werther* spawned a European epidemic of suicides; some of these young men even dressed themselves like Goethe's character and staged the death scene in the same way. In our own time, a 16-year-old boy in Poughkeepsie, N.Y., who murdered his parents and brother in March 1989, told police his name was "Rambo." In his room they found dozens of Rambo posters and magazines, ammunition pouches, and smoke grenades.



"Okay, so you're not interested in selling your soul. Can I at least put you on our mailing list?"

A trio of 1966 mass killings demonstrated the media contagion effect. In July, Richard Speck stabbed and strangled eight student nurses in a Chicago duplex. On July 31, Charles Whitman typed a farewell note to the world: "I don't quite understand what it is that compels me to type this letter." He wrote about seeking help from a University of Texas psychiatrist. He wrote about headaches and asked that an autopsy be performed, and described his plan to kill his mother and his wife. He wrote about "intense hatred beyond description" for his father. He asked that his little estate be donated to mental-health research to "prevent further tragedies of this type." Later that night Whitman murdered his wife and mother, and the next morning he climbed the Texas Tower on the University of Texas campus and killed 13 others before he himself was slain.

Then on November 12, 1966, in Mesa, Arizona, the 18-year-old Robert Benjamin Smith, a quiet loner who had been elected to his high-school class council because he was such a bright student, walked into a beauty parlor, ordered seven women and children to lie on the floor, and then shot them all, killing five. He told police, "I wanted to get myself a name . . . to see the headlines with my name in them before I die." He said he decided how to accomplish that ambition after reading about Speck and Whitman.

A classic mass killer was Patrick Purdy. He first came to official notice when he was nine; police found him and his two siblings at home alone, twice, and booked the mother for neglect. As a teenager he compiled a long record of theft, alcoholism, possession of dangerous weapons, vandalism, and fighting; he served intermittent jail terms. When he was 14 a juvenile judge sent him to the San Joaquin County Mental Health Center in Stockton, California. He returned there

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repeatedly on his own, seeking help for suicidal and homicidal thoughts. The evaluators put various labels on him: strong sociopathic features, substance-induced personality disorder, emotional and sexual immaturity, depression, borderline personality disorder. He drank heavily; sniffed glue; used marijuana, PCP, LSD, and cocaine; lived under bridges; and hustled as a homosexual prostitute in Los Angeles. He sought treatment at 19 for "suicidal ideation." Again at 22 he sought treatment, declaring that he strongly identified with the Oklahoma postal worker who had just killed 14 co-workers, and that he was hearing voices telling him "to do things." So it went; Purdy repeatedly begged for help to control his destructive urges, declaring, "I can't go on like this."

ON January 5, 1989, Purdy, then 25 years old, parked beside a school playground crowded with five hundred children. He set off a bomb that engulfed his car in flames, donned orange earplugs, and fired both his drum magazines, 105 rounds. He killed 5 and wounded 31. At the sound of approaching police sirens, Purdy drew his Taurus pistol and shot himself in the head.

The media often blame the advent of cheap, light assault weapons and automatic handguns for mass murders, and it is true that eight out of the ten worst mass murders in U.S. history have occurred since 1980. "Today you can kill a dozen people in short order, before police can respond," says James Alan Fox, dean of the Northeastern University College of Criminal Justice. "It used to be a lot harder to kill that many people."

But there were mass killings long before there were modern automatic weapons. In 1913, in Germany, a 39-year-old schoolteacher by the name of Wagner acted out his own *Götterdämmerung*. In a Stuttgart suburb, he rose before dawn and as quietly and painlessly as possible killed his wife and four children. He mailed several letters; one, containing a complete confession, was addressed to Stuttgart's largest newspaper. He took a train to Muehlhausen, a village 113 miles away. There in the middle of the night he set several large fires, and as villagers ran into the street he shot them, killing nine and wounding a dozen. When he ran out of ammunition, he was overpowered; the terrified townsmen were astounded to recognize the murderer as the teacher who had moved away a dozen years earlier.

Wagner died in an asylum 25 years later. He discussed openly and exhaustively every aspect of his life—with one exception. He traced his crime back to one or more sodomistic acts which he would never describe, committed while teaching in the village; the psychiatrists wondered if these things had actually happened or were fantasy. Wagner convinced himself that the villagers knew about those acts, that they watched, mocked, and ridiculed him. He lived in such constant dread of arrest that he carried two loaded pistols on his wedding day in 1903.

In his new post he was respected as an outstanding educator, quiet and dignified. But he "heard" pointed remarks and convinced himself that the people of Muehlhausen somehow had told people in his new village of his shame. He developed his murderous plan three years after leaving Muehlhausen. In 1913 he interpreted an earthquake as a mystical sign that he must act.

What can "the global village" do about such "weirdos" and their media-borne psychological contagions?

Very little.

The day after the Dunblane massacre, a member of the regional council, Anne Dickson, described how council members tried to get their "weirdo" removed from his boys' club, and how police investigations failed because no parent produced evidence that Hamilton had abused a child.

"We tried everything, every channel available to us," Mrs. Dickson said. "But the police can do nothing unless there's a specific charge and you have proof."

Exactly. As one FBI analyst points out, for every person who exhibits portentous paranoid warning signals and commits a massacre, thousands more exhibit them and do not. Millions of children have biograms virtually identical to those of the few who become mass killers. Here in this opaque fog beyond human knowledge or understanding lies that thing we call "free will." Unless we are willing to turn ourselves into a police state, or until brain research provides more reliable early identification and preventive treatment, every weirdo with a will to act out his Samson fantasy gets one free massacre.

But we must keep our perspective in our struggle to defend freedom despite

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the random killers among us. Take the related subject of terrorism. Four bus bombings in Jerusalem killed 62 people, evoked world headlines, and produced an emergency conference of heads of state from Clinton to Yeltsin and just about everybody in between. Yet the death toll, horrible as it was, about equaled the monthly death toll from traffic accidents in Israel. Israelis accept more than seven hundred deaths yearly for the freedom of the automobile. Americans accept five hundred every Fourth of July holiday.

The standard work on the subject of paranoid schizophrenia—*The Paranoid*, by David W. Swanson, Philip J. Bohnert, and Jackson A. Smith—is devoted almost entirely to description and leaves the etiology of the disorder largely a mystery. But the good doctors offer some solid advice to the whole family of man: "Effective methods of protecting society and government from the paranoid individual are lacking . . . Defensiveness must be avoided so that society does not become paranoid about the paranoid." □

Southern Lights

Low taxation, low regulation, and a surplus of skilled labor is generating tremendous growth down South.

JOHN HOOD

LAST October, the *Wall Street Journal* pulled together six economic forecasters to gauge the growth rate of different American regions and states for the year. They agreed that the South would outperform the nation as a whole by at least a percentage point of GNP growth, and probably more.

But I must swallow my regional pride for a moment and admit that many Western states also fare well in such comparisons. Indeed, given the tremendous variation in history and tradition from Atlanta to Phoenix, it is clear that the often-discussed ascendancy of the Sunbelt in economic performance is not, as is often posited, really a cultural phenomenon.

Nor should the term "Sunbelt" suggest a climatological explanation, although the development and promulgation of cheap air conditioning across the region was an important precondition for growth (its downside being lengthier and thus more dangerous legislative sessions, lasting throughout the summer in many states).

Instead, much of the comparatively strong performance of many Southern and Western states can be traced directly to public-policy decisions, some long established and others of more recent vintage, that have helped create a business climate favorable to growth and entrepreneurship.

One of the most important factors has been the region's relatively low state and local tax rates. While the idea that low taxes and economic growth are related may sound like common sense, for most of the last thirty years the consensus among policymakers and academics was that tax policy, particularly on the state and local level, did not have a significant impact on economic growth. These policy types generally advanced the proposition that these tax rates were too low to be much of a damper, and that the things they funded —public services such as infrastructure and education—stimulated growth.

But during the 1980s and early 1990s, this consensus dissipated, both because of new research linking taxes to growth and because of the experience of governors and legislators in trying to make their states more competitive. Many studies have demonstrated conclusively that, over time, states and localities that maintain relatively low tax rates tend to outperform their peers on measures of economic performance. A related finding was that since the 1960s, state-government policy has played an increasingly important role in explaining economic differences between states.

For one thing, whereas earlier in the century state tax rates tended to converge, since 1962 they have diverged, albeit modestly. Research by Paul Brace of the University of Illinois at Chicago shows that in 1968, national political influences were three times as significant as state political influences in explaining different economic growth rates among states. But by 1985, the ratio had fallen to a rough equivalence between national and state factors. One further conclusion of research by Brace and others is that, generally speaking, it's tax policy, not "investment" in infrastructure or spending programs, that has the largest and most consistent effects on economic growth. Indeed, from 1985 to 1993, job growth in the 10 lowest-tax states exceeded that in the 10 highest-tax states by an amazing 65 per cent, according to a *BusinessWeek* analysis. Five of the 10 lowest-tax states were in the South; none of the highest-tax states were. Indeed, every Southern state but one (Louisiana) was in the bottom two-fifths in state and local tax burden.

OF course, there are many other factors affecting economic performance. Perhaps the most critical one is the quality of the labor market—whether businesses can hire skilled, hard-working employees at a reasonable cost. The South has long had an advantage here—partly because of the prevalence of right-to-work laws inhibiting union organization—although educational deficiencies have continued to hold many communities back.

Indeed, the key problem in most fast-growing Southern metropolitan areas today is an inability to find sufficient labor to meet demand. As of 1995, Burger King restaurants in Nashville and other cities were paying new breakfast-shift employees as much as $8.50 an hour. In my own neck of the woods, Raleigh, one hotel and convention center had to raise its wage scale for waiters and waitresses by 72 per cent in one year just to keep its facilities adequately staffed. This is the kind of "problem" one wants to have, and it is only temporary, as millions of people from other parts of the country exercise their freedom to head South and West to pursue the greater opportunities that exist there.

In addition to right-to-work laws,

Mr. Hood is president of the John Locke Foundation and the author of The Heroic Enterprise: Business and the Common Good, *to be published by The Free Press in June.*

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state regulations have generally been less onerous and more sensible in the South than in the Northeast and Midwest, although some of my entrepreneur friends would have a hard time believing that. For all the furor about competition among states for major industrial relocations, these projects play a surprisingly small role in most local economies. Entrepreneurial start-ups and expansions are far more important—and suffer disproportionately more from heavy regulatory burdens.

Donald Hicks, a political economist at the University of Texas at Dallas, used business-credit and state-tax records to follow the fate of manufacturing and service companies in the Dallas metropolitan area. He studied the period from the beginning of 1986 to early 1989, which included a regional recession and subsequent recovery. He found that even though total employment barely budged, there was a lot of churning in the local economy during those years. For example, almost 27 per cent of the specific private-sector jobs that existed at the beginning of the period had disappeared by the end. At the same time, about the same number of new private-sector jobs were created by growing businesses.

More interesting than just the fact of "creative destruction" in the economy was where those jobs were lost or gained. Of total private-sector jobs lost, business closures accounted for about 70 per cent. Layoffs at surviving businesses accounted for another 29 per cent. Companies departing from the Dallas area represented only 1.6 per cent of all jobs lost.

Similarly, of total private-sector jobs gained, fully 61 per cent were created by entrepreneurs—by individuals starting up new companies in the Dallas area. Previously existing small businesses contributed 25 per cent of new jobs, and another 10.5 per cent were created by existing large businesses. Only 3.3 per cent of the new jobs came from companies moving into the region. In other words: many firms go out of business over time, and many of today's employers didn't even exist fifteen or ten or even five years ago.

That's important to keep in mind when you talk about the public-policy implications of state economic performance. Hicks concluded that politicians waste a lot of time worrying about recruiting a few big industrial prospects, since such firms will actually add little real value to local economies. Instead of spending millions of dollars on economic-development programs and government boondoggles, Hicks suggests, the states should "create an environment friendly to the formation of new businesses," with low taxes, less regulatory red tape, and a sound education system.

It is important not to get too carried away with the notion of Southern economic competitiveness. Many communities, particularly in rural areas, remain desperately poor. And it is always easier for relatively impoverished areas to grow faster in percentage terms than richer ones. Nevertheless, the region's continued economic growth provides a powerful argument for relatively free markets and relatively little government meddling. □

Political Science

Sociology's disdain for the scientific method undermines its scientific pretensions.

FRANK SALTER

ALTHOUGH sociology proclaims itself as the queen of the social sciences, it has never graduated to the status of a fully scientific enterprise. The essential flaw of modern sociology is its failure to accept the limitations of social engineering dictated by the facts of human biology. We know beyond reasonable doubt that humanity is an evolved species whose nature is in significant part fixed. Yet contemporary sociology neglects or suppresses the growing body of information about human nature that is being

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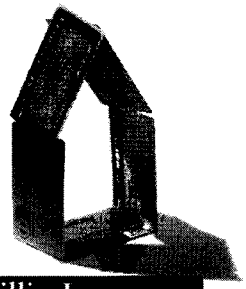

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uncovered by behavioral biology and its related fields.

On account of its vast biological ignorance the practice of sociology today is often as fanciful as the alchemy of the Middle Ages. Despite continuing controversy around the margins, it is now indisputable that humans have certain essentially immutable traits not changeable by short-term social interventions. Sociologists will continue their vain quest for social gold, usually communalistic or sexual utopias, until their methods and theories reflect these immutable aspects of human nature.

SUCH a harsh judgment on an entire field of study may seem extravagant. After all, sociologists are a diverse bunch, employing methods from stratospherically abstract verbal theorizing to sophisticated observational and statistical procedures. Fortunately, however, *The Concise Oxford Dictionary of Sociology* has recently provided an authoritative summary of the entire field that allows us to assess its scientific content. Precisely because of the breadth and clarity of its exposition, the *Dictionary* is a most damning document. It reveals a discipline at odds with biology and the other natural sciences—a discipline whose main unifying principle is not a powerful set of scientific theories, but a devotion to left-wing ideology.

Let us begin our browse through the dictionary with the entry on sociobiology. (Readers may recognize the word "sociobiology" because of its public exposure during a controversy beginning in 1975, when Harvard professor Edward O. Wilson published his volume of the same name.) The summary of sociobiology in the *Concise Oxford Dictionary* is inaccurate and woefully incomplete, making clear that political opposition and professional jealousy are still interfering with a fair-minded evaluation of biology's contributions to social science. No mention is made of the actual theoretical origins of Wilson's and other sociobiologists' ideas. They are Darwinians who view the behavior of humans and other animals through the prism of natural selection. Drawing on research in population genetics, they argue that genes for behavior, like other genes, are selected insofar as they contribute to reproductive success. Thus genes for various behaviors that in the past have made men and women successful at leaving descendants define current human nature.

The *Dictionary*'s omission of the intellectual provenance of sociobiology undoubtedly has political roots. Wilson's understanding of innate human behavioral tendencies revives and refines the concept of human nature for our times. The academic Left, however, detests the concept of human nature because it is a barrier to their utopian schemes for transforming man by changing society. Therefore the strong support for a biologically based concept of human nature in evolutionary theory—by any account one of the most important scientific discoveries of the millennium—must be suppressed. Most sociologists would ridicule Biblical creationists, but to sustain their politics they must remain creationists themselves—only with society rather than God as man's creator.

Our browse through the *Dictionary* continues with a group of entries connected with family relationships. Even before the modern synthesis of natural selection and genetics made clear how human behavior in general was a biological adaptation, it was widely understood that family relationships were features of the natural world because they were found across cultural and national boundaries and even had similarities to relationships in other species. It is hard to see how the more audacious sociological claims about the family reported in these entries could be taken seriously at a time when modern science shows them to be not only false but ridiculous.

Childhood: Most people understand that childhood is a state of progression from infancy to adulthood that is a natural fact of the physical world. But listen to the *Dictionary*: "[C]hildhood is constructed on the inabilities of children as political, intellectual, sexual, or economic beings despite empirical evidence to the contrary, . . . [T]his serves the need of capitalist states." Or, "The child also provides state agencies with the excuse to intervene in irregular families, and to change or dismember them. . . ." The entry pays no heed to the voluminous scientific evidence on cross-cultural universals in the states of a child's development from infancy to adulthood and in parent–child interaction and play. Only willful ignorance of the most elementary facts of biology could lead the *Dictionary* to describe the child's dependent state as constructed by exploiting capitalists or meddlesome bureaucrats.

Family, nuclear: While conceding that anthropological studies emphasize the "naturalness" of the nuclear family, the *Dictionary* immediately adds that "sociologists emphasize that biology is not sufficient for understanding family forms." Rather, the entry suggests alternative sociological theories: for instance, the nuclear family may be a cultural adaptation to industrial society or a means for oppressing women. According to the *Dictionary*, "The nuclear family is no longer the norm in either Britain or America," though it concedes that the family is a "remarkably resilient institution. . . . " The entry simply fails to note that maintenance of familial bonds remains the norm for related individuals, whether they reside together or not.

If sociology were swayed by science more than by ideology, it would have deployed the evolutionary theory of kin selection to explain the "resilience" of family bonds in society after society: humans have a tendency to take an abiding interest in their kin's welfare because their kin share copies of many of the same genes. Once again, however, a biological theory that offers a serious explanation of a human universal is ignored in favor of political musings.

Marriage: Incredibly, the reproductive function of marriage is not mentioned. The question, "Why do people marry?" does not even raise the possibility that providing a secure base for child-rearing is a prime function or concern. To anyone but a sociologist this would seem at least some part of the ex-

Mr. Salter writes on sociological and other scientific issues.

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planation. As it happens, biology has developed a well-tested theory that explains the diverse relations between the sexes in different species in terms of the need for parental investment. Because of the naturally long period of childhood dependency in our species, children were more likely to survive if the father joined with the mother to pool their resources and efforts for raising their children. Thus marriage, one of our most enduring institutions, has roots in a human adaptation to the natural world. Reading the *Dictionary*, however, one could get the impression that marriage is wholly dependent on contingent power relations between social groups or the sexes.

Maternal deprivation: The *Dictionary* offers a cautious definition: "[T]he absence of maternal care *considered* necessary for later mental health" (emphasis added) and then adds: "Feminists denounce the idea for its ideological role in subordinating women to motherhood." From a naturalistic perspective, however, motherhood is not in the first instance something to which women are *subordinated*. Taking care of children is a reproductive function for which females of bird and mammal species have been selected, to which most women aspire, and for which they are usually well adapted. But in any case, how is a denunciation of the idea of maternal deprivation itself relevant to sociology as a science, rather than as ideology? Would it be relevant for a dictionary of bird behavior to report that some ornithologists denounce the idea of gravity because it prevents birds from soaring as far as they might?

Motherhood: Feminist themes are continued in this entry, with modern biological knowledge again notably absent. The *Dictionary* states that many empirical feminist studies have "challenged the common assumption that women have some instinctive desire to have children and to care for them. . . ." "[S]ome feminist theorists have suggested that it is the biological fact of child bearing that is the key source of women's oppression, . . . [h]owever, such claims have been hotly contested. . . ." One is glad to hear that such ideas are contested. It would have been more reassuring to learn that the opposition is in the overwhelming majority, and that it makes use of hard biological science. Girls' and women's spontaneous learning of child-care behaviors has been well documented cross-culturally, and maternal care is also common in other primates, humans' closest relatives. Yet the biological view of the function of motherhood is simply not stated. Feminist ideology rather than science is the motherhood and apple pie of sociology's study of the family.

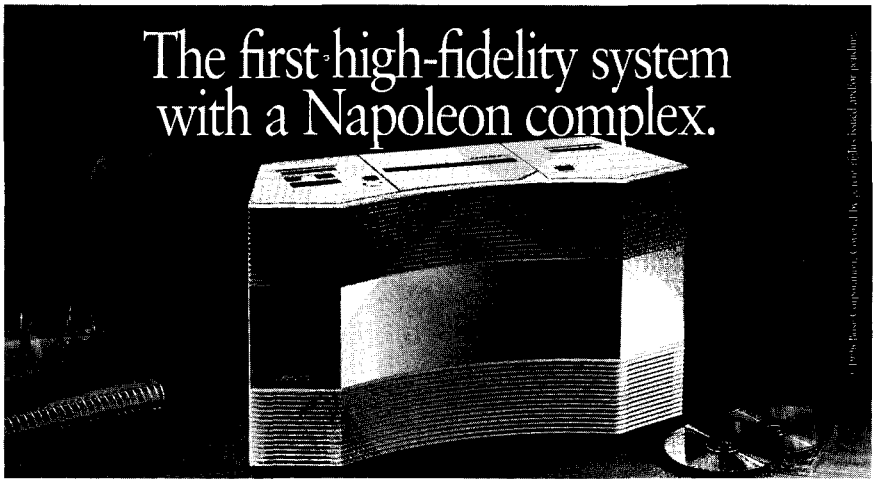
IN addressing sexuality, the *Dictionary* takes yet another tack in order to devalue the importance of biology: it treats all theories, including biology, as equally valid parts of scientific discourse, rather than as sets of hypotheses that may be proven true or false.

Gender: The *Dictionary* does discuss biological ideas about gender, an exception to the trend noted so far. For example, a criticism of the sex–gender distinction is reported that reaffirms the importance of biological issues in women's lives, sees sex differences as biologically, not socially, constructed, and critiques that form of feminism that would eradicate gender in favor of androgyny. The entry under "sex roles" also notes the biological and psychological theories of sex-role differences as well as criticisms of them.

However, the *Dictionary* goes on to expressly entertain the views of Michel Foucault, the radical French philosopher, for whom science is just another social construction of the powerful rather than a means of discovering objective truth. The *Dictionary* states "[Foucault's approach] too can be another means by which biology is discounted and biological science dismissed as merely a social discourse." Going by the *Dictionary* in the area of gender studies, sociology fails the test of empirical rationality because its practitioners do not believe that one side of a debate can be right and other sides wrong.

Sex, sociological studies of: The sociological study of gender and sex roles is relatively enlightened in comparison to the treatment of sex. Mention is made of the differences in human sexuality between the sexes that are shown by behavioral studies, brain physiology, ontogeny (the study of the course of development of fetuses and babies), and endocrinology (the study of hormones). But instead, the entry emphasizes sociology's in-house work on sexuality, begun in the 1960s, which rejects biological concepts such as an innate sex drive or innate differences in sexuality between men and women. The entry thus embraces ideas about sex from

(Continues on page 60)



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THE VICE PRESIDENT
WASHINGTON

May 11, 1996

Dear Rusty,

I've got to be totally honest with you, Rusty: it's nice to be on the winning team. I haven't felt this confident about things since the night before Super Tuesday in 1988, and let me tell you, after the first couple of rocky years of the Clinton–Gore Administration, this feels nice. But, Rusty, I never knew how much fundraising we were in for. In the past few weeks, Tip and I have been out every night. If we're not at a dinner dance for the DNC, then we're at a black-tie fundraiser for the Clinton–Gore '96 campaign.

As you would imagine, the cynical press has raised its collective eyebrow over our fundraising efforts, even going so far as to suggest that what we're doing is "selling access," to which I reply, That's only a danger if you think the President is some kind of wishy-washy weather vane, who adopts the opinion of the last person he spoke to. And that pretty much ends that. We're doing what every political party has to do: we're holding a few simple fundraising events.

I'm sitting here in the tub, enjoying a quiet moment before Tipper and I have to get dressed up for "Victory 1996: A Celebratory Dinner for Very Special Over-One-Mil-a-Year People." Last year, if you remember, after the pretty dismal 1994 election, we had to cancel the VSOP Dinner; this year, we filled up the Capitol Hilton ballroom twice! Once for lunch ("Victory 1996: A Celebratory Lunch with a Powerful Bureaucrat of Your Choice") and once for the VSOP Dinner.

As if that wasn't enough, there are a lot more events this week: "Victory 1996: A Celebratory Breakfast with the President of the United States," which was oversold the moment it was announced. That prompted Bill, very generously I may add, to offer to eat more than one breakfast a day, for, as he put it, "as long as the party needs me to." So now we've got Breakfast I and Breakfast II, for "Golden Juice" level donors (over $150,000); Luncheon I and Luncheon II with me, Tip, Bill, and HRC for donors at the "Welcome to the Club Sandwich" level (over $200,000); and the VSOP Dinner for those at the "Fatted Calf" level (over $300,000 over and over again).

And that's just Tuesday. Wednesday, Thursday, and Friday we do it all over again. The sad part is, Tipper was feeling bloated after Luncheon I, so I had to caution her to pace herself.

Next Monday, in what I think is a poignant tribute to the late Ron Brown, we're doing something he came up with. He called it the "Businessman's Special," but we're calling it, in his honor, "Victory 1996: A Very Special Tribute to Ron Brown." It's a simple buffet lunch with the Under-Secretary of your choice. Typically, what Ron liked most about the idea was the simplicity: "Businessmen don't have a lot of time for the niceties. They don't want to talk to the guy at the top, they want to talk to the guy who makes the decisions," I can still hear him say.

And when it came to making a decision about trade policy for China, we held a dinner called "Victory 1996: MFN for China?" and we were gratified by the response from Kodak, Lehman Brothers, Caterpillar, Citibank, Ford Motor Corp., Bechtel, Amoco, Goldman Sachs, Schering-Plough, PacTel, Wal-Mart, Coca-Cola, Chase, American International Group, Boise Cascade . . . and that's just to name the CEOs at my table. Bill was at a table for two dozen CEOs, which was made manageable by the very Chinese touch of a Lazy Susan–type arrangement which allowed Bill to kind of spin around the table every few minutes to give every diner "his money's worth," as Bill put it.

What's great about our lead over Dole in the polls (21 per cent and climbing!) is that, first of all, Bill's starting to get the kind of numbers that I've been getting so there isn't any more of that awkwardness between us. And second, now that our team has the winning edge, everyone wants to be on it.

Hazel O'Leary, our Secretary of Energy (who is an African-American, as if that made a difference) held a dinner last week called "Victory 1996: A Dialogue on the Gas Tax." The great thing was that every ticket was bought by Chevron.

Bob Rubin over at Treasury put together a nifty brunch called "Victory 1996: Behind the Scenes at the IRS," which was oversold the moment the invitation appeared on the Bloomberg. He's offered to take it "on the road," as he puts it. That ought to pay for some 30-second spots in the fall, huh?

Of course, I don't want you to get the impression that it's all about money. It's about a lot of other things that I could name, but Tipper just called up that the limo is waiting, so I'd better go.

Your pal, Al

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BOOKS, ARTS & MANNERS

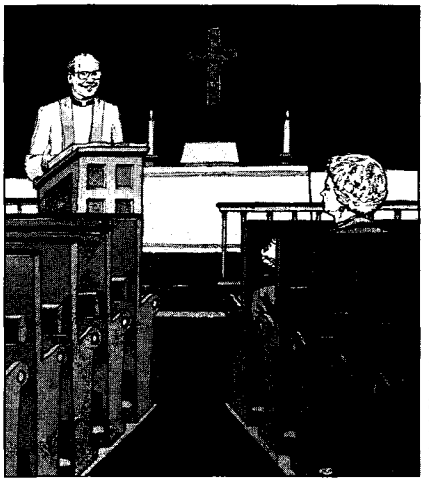
Kitsch Religion

DAVID KLINGHOFFER

WHEN the *New York Times* wants the opinion of respectable religion on an issue of the day, its reporter inevitably seeks out an Episcopal bishop, a Presbyterian minister, or a Reform rabbi; and so those Americans who rely on the Official Media for news can be forgiven for thinking that the liberal "mainline" churches represent the mainstream of religious faith. At the same time, despite random signs of life—such as the ever-presence of Unitarian minister Robert Fulghum on the bestseller list—there is a sense among those who follow such things that liberal religion is on the decline, that in the marketplace of faith the conservative denominations have got the upper hand.

This isn't what children growing up in liberal Jewish or Christian homes were told to expect. These children have long been taught that orthodoxy and fundamentalism are dying anachronisms—that, in the modern world, a "contemporary," enlightened view of God and man is the only viable stance. And yet that opinion has itself turned out to be an anachronism. What has happened to liberal religion?

The numbers are not debatable. The fastest-growing American denominations are the Southern Baptists and Mormons; whereas the mainline Episcopal, Unitarian, Congregationalist, Presbyterian, and Methodist churches have been bleeding members since the mid 1960s, so that by the beginning of this decade they had experienced losses in membership ranging from a fifth to a third. More depressing, from the perspective of the churches themselves, is that they have suffered this decline mainly among younger members. A study published in 1994, *All in the Family: Religious Mobility in America*, rated denominations on their ability to keep believers in the fold. Conservative Protestant groups such as the Southern Baptists and Assemblies of God did best, followed by the Roman Catholics. Of men and women interviewed between 1988 and 1990, only 63 per cent who had grown up in a liberal church had remained there—compared with 83 per cent among conservative Protestants and 81 per cent among Catholics. Discussing mainline decay in the journal *First Things*, Benton Johnson, Dean R. Hoge, and Donald A. Luidens wrote about sitting "today in the balcony of a typical United Methodist church and look[ing] over a congregation of greying and balding heads."



Frederick H. Carlson

I've had the same experience in synagogues affiliated with the liberal Reform movement and the misleadingly named Conservative movement in Judaism. (At its inception more than a hundred years ago, Conservative Judaism proposed to "conserve" the bulk of traditional Judaism; but since about 1950, Conservative leaders have parted ways with traditional Judaism on a variety of issues, resulting in the death of Conservative Jewish law by a thousand small cuts.) Walk into a typical Conservative synagogue in New York City, and you will find a small audience of senior citizens mixed with some middle-aged adults and a few thirtysomething stragglers, all sitting passively, as if stunned, while the rabbi and cantor perform on a stage in front of them. Meanwhile, Orthodox synagogues overflow with observant Jews, including couples in their twenties and their babies.

Though Reform remains the largest body in Judaism, and frequently gains new members through intermarriage (when a non-Jewish spouse can be prevailed on to sit through a nominal "conversion" to Judaism), the only Jewish denomination that has been able to hold onto its young people against intermarriage and assimilation is Orthodoxy. In fact, many of the young Orthodox Jews you meet in stronghold neighborhoods such as Manhattan's Upper West Side grew up in Reform or Conservative homes but became disillusioned and made the decision to embrace traditional Judaism.

If observers of the religious scene too frequently consider liberal Christianity in isolation from its Jewish counterpart, it is because they don't take the trouble actually to define liberal religion. If they did, they would find that liberal Judaism has a lot in common with the Protestant mainline. To remedy the problem, let me propose a three-pronged definition, which will become clear from an account of an exemplary event of religious liberalism: my bar mitzvah.

Taking place in 1977 at Temple Beth El, a Southern California Reform synagogue, this event consisted of three main parts. First, my reading of the Torah: a passage in Hebrew from *Deuteronomy*. Though I had spent three years in

Mr. Klinghoffer is NR's literary editor. This article is excerpted from Dumbing Down: Essays on the Strip-Mining of American Culture, *edited by Katharine Washburn and John Thornton (Norton).*

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Hebrew school, it was a typical Reform Hebrew school. Instructed by a series of indifferent Israelis, all I really learned was to pronounce Hebrew letters; I understood hardly a word of my brief Scriptural text.

Second came my bar mitzvah speech about the sad plight of Soviet Jews, an oration of little direct relevance to my passage from the Torah and written by my mother.

Finally, the third and main part of a Reform bar mitzvah: the party. This last had absolutely nothing to do with the ostensibly religious rite of that morning. Instead, at my insistence, at a nearby hotel in Long Beach called the Golden Sails Inn, I was the proud center of a living tableau of all that was most embarrassing about the 1970s. My guests danced to the Hustle, led by two specially hired lady disco dancers in brown suede jumpsuits. When the guests weren't hustling, a professional cartoonist wandered the large ballroom, drawing humorous caricatures. He drew me riding a surfboard on a large wave, though I've never surfed.

The differences between this and a traditional bar mitzvah illuminate the differences between liberal and traditional religions. An Orthodox boy reads a much longer passage from the Torah, and he understands all of it because he has been studying Hebrew as intensively as a Reform Jewish grammar-school boy might study Spanish or German. He also gives a brief sermon, or *davar Torah*, elaborating on themes arising from the chapters he has just read—again, because he has studied those chapters and understands their relationship to Jewish law, his acceptance of which is the whole point of the exercise. Then all adjourn to the synagogue social hall for pickled herring and a shot of whisky.

SO we see in what direction liberal religion diverges from the tradition it comes out of. I mentioned a three-pronged definition. Here it is.

First the matter of discipline and education. On turning 13, a boy should, in traditional Judaism, be able to read and understand the Hebrew Scriptures from which the system of *halacha*, or Jewish law, derives, because on his 13th birthday the boy is suddenly responsible for carrying out that law. As a 13-year-old Reform boy, I was not asked to shoulder any new responsibilities. Though that morning I read from the Book of the Law, I didn't understand what I was saying, so I could hardly assent to it. (Actually, Reform Judaism holds that Jewish law—in such Biblically mandated specifics as Sabbath observance and the lists of prohibited foods—is no longer operative.) For the most part, liberal religion eliminates the concept of a *bar mitzvah*, literally a "son of the commandments," an individual on whom the responsibility falls to fulfill quite serious requirements imposed by God.

In researching their article in *First Things*, Johnson, Hoge, and Luidens focused on the Presbyterian Church and listed some of the traditional Presbyterian standards of behavior that have fallen into desuetude: "Rules against worldly amusements and immodest dress went by the boards after World War I, standards of Sabbath observance were widely ignored by 1940, and in many congregations old norms concerning alcoholic beverages had become obsolete by the early 1950s." The Presbyterian Church has also given up its opposition to abortion rights.

For both Christians and Jews the most striking and symbolic evolution in ideas about proper conduct centers on homosexuality. Among leaders of the Episcopal Church, a debate proceeds, with a powerful faction advocating that the church endorse gay marriages and homosexuality in general; openly gay Episcopal priests have been ordained. When homosexual Boy Scouts and Boy Scout leaders became an issue in the early 1990s, the Unitarians asserted their strong support of gay Scoutmasters and Scouts. In 1992, the major ecumenical organization representing the liberal churches, the National Council of Churches, just barely avoided, by a vote of 90 to 81, granting observer status to an avowedly gay denomination called the Universal Fellowship of Metropolitan Churches. Among Reform Jews, you find no such hesitation. When a gay synagogue in Manhattan installed its first rabbi, the head of the Reform movement, Alexander Schindler, personally presided over the installation.

The first leg of my definition of liberal religion has do with a watering down of moral requirements, and the second is not unrelated. It is the substitution of politics for morality. To return to my bar mitzvah: Notice that, when the time came for me to comment on my Torah portion, I—or rather, my mother—chose to emphasize not the *mitzvot*, religious commandments, that arise from the text, but rather a political issue: the mistreatment of Soviet Jews. "Social action" often seems to be the principal concern of Reform Judaism. Nor are the liberal Christian churches uninterested in politics.

If you were handed a hundred public declarations by liberal clergymen, and a hundred newspaper editorials, you would not find it easy to distinguish one from the other. The issues that preoccupy these men of God are various. Take 1994. At the start of the year, the head communications officer at the National Council of Churches declared that violent crime was "at the top of the churches' agenda," with the head of the Council's Interreligious Task Force on Criminal Justice taking the occasion to attack the National Rifle Association with colorful references to a "bloodstained Constitution" and "closed doors of fear." In March a group called the Religious Coalition for Reproductive Choice, including heads of the Unitarian and Episcopal Churches, demanded that President Clinton's health-care plan provide funding for abortions. In April the National Religious Partnership for the Environment spent $4.5 million on an Earth Day campaign to endorse "eco-justice" and assail "environmental racism." ("It is God, not Gaia, whom we will face on Judgment Day," remarked a skeptical Catholic priest.) A *New York Times* article produced a Reform rabbi who sells energy-saving lightbulbs and low-flow shower heads in his temple Judaica shop. As he put it, "the concept of the environment is central to Judaism"—though it's hard to see how that could be, given that Biblical Hebrew contains no word for "the environment" or "nature," and that in *Genesis* God grants man mastership, not stewardship, of the non-human world. The year of liberal-religious activism concluded, in California, with Episcopal bishops opposing Proposition 187, the ballot initiative intended to discourage illegal immigration.

In seeking to explain the declining fortunes of liberal churches, conservatives often point to this obsession with politics and other non-spiritual matters. According to these critics, parishioners in liberal churches are, like most Amer-

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icans, basically conservative. So they resent the political declarations of their leaders. I doubt it. At Temple Beth El during the Reagan Administration, when the sermons of our own rabbi seemed to deal increasingly with the arms race and nuclear winter, many of his congregants agreed with him. Meanwhile very few, if any, knew about the more radical positions being adopted by the rabbi's superiors at the Union of American Hebrew Congregations, where a portion of their dues money went each year. Had the well-meaning Jews of Temple Beth El known that the head of the UAHC's synagogue wing supported homosexual temples and homosexual rabbis, many would have been appalled.

The same goes for liberal churches. After interviewing five hundred Presbyterians, Johnson, Hoge, and Luidens concluded that most of them "know little or nothing about the policies promoted by denominational officials."

WHICH leads me to the third part of my definition of liberal faith. For some decades now the attraction of these churches has been religious only in part. Nor has it been mainly political. It has been largely social. After all, the highlight of my bar mitzvah was the party. When a liberal church ceases to be a body concerned mainly with the dissemination of God's word, it can continue to function for a while as a social institution. As a child growing up at Temple Beth El, I didn't understand the ideology of Reform Judaism: a highly theoretical contraption asserting the existence of God while denying that the Jews or any other people possess a document containing clearly revealed instructions from Him. No doubt our rabbi sincerely believed the theories underlying Reform. He was, however, probably the only such person at Temple Beth El.

What it is in Reform that appeals to Jews now in their fifties and sixties is not Reform theories, but rather the Reform temple as a gathering place of friendly and socially similar adults. My parents' generation loves bar mitzvah parties, the *havurot* (groups of families that get together for outings to the zoo or the beach), the *kiddush* after services on Friday night (a benediction over wine and bread, and a schmooze afterward with coffee and cake).

If I'm right, this would at least partly explain why Jews and Christians of my generation have in such numbers dropped out of our parents' temples and churches. As other social organizations have discovered to their distress—fraternal organizations such as the Masons and the Shriners, do-good groups such as the American Jewish Committee and the Anti-Defamation League—young Americans today don't have time for them. We work too hard to spend Friday night at temple, Sunday morning at church, Wednesday night at the Moose Lodge—whatever—just to schmooze. For that, we can go to the gym, thereby accomplishing two objectives at once.

That, however, surely doesn't explain the whole phenomenon. After all, not everyone my age belongs to a gym. Critics offer different theories. A few years ago the dean of the Episcopal cathedral in Washington, the Very Rev. Nathan Baxter, expressed his opinion that the decline of the Episcopal Church proceeded from its "inability . . . to shake [its] European identity." Rev. Baxter surely approves of his church's more recent conversion to multiculturalism—a con-

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version in which other liberal churches have participated, though without the hoped-for result of winning back the membership they lost under the old ethnocentric "European" regime. The Presbyterian Church, for example, doesn't seem to have attracted many American Indians by opening its 1992 General Assembly with an Indian ritual in which a pipe containing sage was smoked, to drive out evil spirits.

A more promising theory appeared recently in *The Churching of America, 1776–1990: Winners and Losers in Our Religious Economy*, by two sociologists, Roger Finke and Rodney Starke. According to them, in the religious marketplace, churches rise in a direct relationship to the degree they impose disciplines of faith and action on their members. When a church eases those disciplines, it loses adherents.

Thinking about the problem of liberal-religious decline, I came across a further clue in an unlikely place. As far as I know, the art critic Clement Greenberg recorded no opinions about Reform Judaism. He did, though, provide the classic definition of *kitsch*. In an essay published in 1939, "Avant Garde and Kitsch," Greenberg tried to distinguish the avant garde, whether in literature or visual art, from another variety of cultural product called kitsch. As Greenberg saw it, art was real art, avant-garde art, if it refused to depict objects in the world, but rather worked within the constraints set "by the disciplines and processes of art and literature themselves. . . . These constraints, once the world of common, extroverted experience has been renounced, can only be found in the very processes or disciplines by which art and literature have already imitated the former. These themselves become the subject matter of art and literature."

In other words, real art refers only to other art. What exactly *that* means isn't important for our purposes. Greenberg's thoughts about kitsch, though, are very interesting. To appreciate real art is hard, but once the difficult contemplation of it has been done, it offers an enormous payoff, in the form of an aesthetic experience. Kitsch, on the other hand, makes things easy for us by taking the *form* of real art and, using techniques of its own, seeking to provide a simulation of aesthetic experience right off the bat.

Discussing the difference between experiencing a Picasso, on the one hand, and, on the other, a painting by Repin, a kitsch artist who depicted dramatic historical scenes, Greenberg writes: "The ultimate values which the cultivated spectator derives from Picasso are derived at a second remove, as the result of reflection upon the immediate impression left by the plastic values [i.e., the picture itself]. It is only then that the recognizable, the miraculous, and the sympathetic enter. . . . Repin predigests art for the spectator and spares him effort, provides him with a short cut to the pleasure of art that detours what is necessarily difficult in genuine art. Repin, or kitsch, is synthetic art."

Roughly speaking, liberal religion is synthetic religion, kitsch religion. In a religious system centered on an orthodoxy, the system asks the believer to subscribe to a set of principles, deriving from what it asserts as the Truth about God, from which also follow definite standards of conduct. After the believer has accepted these principles and sought to order his life by them, he gets the payoff: the experience, however fleeting, of God and His transcendence.

Borrowing Greenberg's language, you might say that orthodox religion seeks to reflect not the world, but rather the Truth. Kitsch religion reflects only the world: its political interests, its desire to be free of troublesome moral obligations. The relationship to the Ultimate which the orthodox believer derives from his faith is derived at a second remove, as the result of reflection upon the immediate impression left by the Truth about God. It is only then that the miraculous enters. Kitsch religion, by contrast, predigests orthodoxy for the church- or temple-goer and spares him effort, claiming to provide him with a shortcut to transcendence that detours what is necessarily difficult in genuine religion.

Historically, churches and synagogues have been the only organizations whose mission is to seek out and disseminate this Truth. If God exists, if He revealed His will to men at points in history, if His revelations can be found in the often ambiguous document called the Bible, then an institution is needed to explain that document—to tell us what God wants from us. In rendering decisions about the meaning of the Bible, rabbis and priests have relied on the authority of ancient traditions: the Oral Torah in Judaism, or the papal tradition in the Roman Catholic Church.

Now, say the liberal denominations, Let the people decide! In place of these hallowed traditions, kitsch religion substitutes the prevailing opinions of the secular world. As a result, Reform Judaism is influenced less by the tradition of the Oral Torah than by the editorial page of the *New York Times*. The Protestant mainline churches increasingly reject the authority of their own traditions, allowing men and women to believe what they wish about virtue, sin, and salvation. After spending a year at Harvard Divinity School, the last word in tony, mainline decadence, Ari Goldman put it bluntly in his 1991 book *The Search for God at Harvard*: "Religious truth did not seem to exist at the Div School, only religious relativism."

Of course many clergymen associated with liberal denominations do not practice kitsch religion. One critic of the Episcopal Church, the journalist William Murchison, himself an Episcopalian, even argues that his church's "commitment to social liberalism and permissiveness can be, and has been, exaggerated—through its own efforts, not just the media's." An important point. I've read about and spoken to Episcopalians who are every bit as evangelical in their Christianity as Pat Robertson, who oppose abortion with as much fervor as any conservative Roman Catholic. When I wrote a book review recently in which I made a few critical comments about the Reform movement, I got a call from a Reform rabbi who told me that he had lost faith in Reform, that on retiring he wanted to move to Israel and live as an Orthodox Jew. In my local Jewish newspaper, New York's *Jewish Week*, another Reform rabbi lamented: "We have become a vacuous, no-demand, no-standards, no-requirements, no-guilt, do-good enterprise of sloppy sentimentality: a liberal Protestant Christianity without Jesus."

Where you do find it, though, kitsch in religion seeks to do an end run around Truth, providing a feeling of "spirituality" without the requirement of orthodox belief and action. That is its downfall. From a strict marketing perspective, this strategy can never work for long. In the end, the problem is a sim-

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ple one of redundancy. You can think of many nonreligious institutions in American life ready and willing to provide precisely the benefits offered by liberal religion. The New Age movement promises the feeling of "spirituality"—without God. Want to make friends? Go to the gym. A whole spectrum of political organizations provide the buzzing high of self-righteousness—without having to sit through an hour-long service. While striving to be relevant, the liberal churches have made themselves irrelevant.

THE liberal project in religion has been tried before. In the Book of Numbers, the modern reader meets a curiously familiar character. While the Israelites wandered in the Wilderness, a Levite named Korah concluded that the authority to interpret God's will should not rest exclusively with Moses and Aaron. Let the people decide! And so, with a group of followers, he rebelled. "All the congregation are holy," he reminded Moses and Aaron, "every one of them, and the Lord is among them; wherefore then lift ye up yourselves above the assembly of the Lord?" For their trouble, without even a moment to fret about "declining membership," Korah and his followers were swallowed up by a crack in the earth.

The columnist Don Feder quotes a Methodist theologian at Duke University: "God is killing mainline Protestantism in America," says the despondent mainliner, "and we . . . deserve it." I disagree. I don't foresee any cracks opening up in the earth. Very slowly, kitsch religion is killing itself. □

Looking after the Underclass

ALLAN CARLSON

AT first look, it would be as easy to dismiss Herbert Gans's *The War against the Poor* as tired liberal foolishness, while praising Marvin Olasky's *Renewing American Compassion* as inspired.

Himself an aging Poverty Warrior, Gans argues that Lyndon Johnson's Great Society campaign failed primarily through a lack of resources. To his mind, the "War on Poverty" was a mere "skirmish." He denies the existence of a "culture of poverty," attributing the difficulties of the poor to "labeling" (particularly by the words "underclass" and "unworthy") and to an unspecified "lack of money." Unmarried teenage mothers are a consequence, not a cause, of poverty, he maintains, and their behavior may even be positive: babies born to teen moms are healthier, Gans claims.

The War against the Poor: The Underclass and Antipoverty Policy, by Herbert J. Gans (Basic, 195 pp., $22)

Renewing American Compassion, by Marvin Olasky (Free Press, 195 pp., $20)

Indeed, this author is a stereotypical liberal. He argues for massive new federal intrusion into labor and capital markets and a huge increase in taxation, so that government can "offer more of those goods and services that it can truly supply more cheaply than private enterprise." Even where he avoids this blatant socialism, his economic thought is a jumble: at one point, he demands that private corporations increase their productivity; on nearby pages, he condemns the use of computers and automation and calls for a return to a labor-intensive economy. And money, of course, grows on trees.

Olasky offers a virtual point-by-point rebuttal. He describes the War on Poverty and its echoes as an enormous waste of tax dollars and energy. Where Gans indicted any labeling of the poor, Olasky deems it critical: particularly the distinction between "worthy" and "unworthy." Where Gans decries the lack of jobs in the American economy, Olasky points to the abundance of opportunities: "attitude," alcoholism, and drug dependency are the real sources of failure to work. Where the Poverty Warrior calls for a new round of welfare programs, the senior fellow from the Progress and Freedom Foundation demands that the whole welfare system be scrapped. Where Gans dismisses as self-serving the "salvation industries" which try to save souls and alter behaviors, Olasky sees them as the only hope for improvement. Indeed, he provides numerous positive examples of religiously driven charities that actually make a difference in the lives of the poor, usually through one-on-one human connections.

Yet a deeper look into both volumes introduces some ambiguity. For example, Gans's investigation into the origins of the term "underclass" leads him to the 1963 book *Challenge to Affluence*, in which the Swedish economist Gunnar Myrdal adapted an old Swedish word to identify persons being driven out of the economy by deindustrialization. While the term lost that connotation in the policy debates of the 1980s, Gans urges with some merit a return to the original meaning, in the new context of the "globalizing" economy. He also identifies the perverse social utilities of the concept of "the undeserving poor," some of which ring true. Gans notes that "the larger the number of people who are declared undeserving, the larger also the number of people needed to modify, police, control, or guard them"; and he describes how the failed War on Drugs has "aided the continuation of addiction, street crime, and prison building."

Meanwhile, Olasky's argument reveals certain flaws. To begin with, his enthusiastic embrace of the nineteenth-century's Charity Organization Society (COS) movement as a worthy model masks its dark side: an intellectual rooting in Social Darwinism (giving an extra bite to terminology such as "deserving" and "undeserving") and in a "moderate" feminism focused on "child saving." Concerning the former, COS theorists acknowledged both "the law of the survival of the fittest" and the Christian's obligation to save the unfit from death. Scientific charity, they believed, allowed them to combat the evils arising from this "breach" of the law of nature, by calculating need in order to aid only the "degree of unfitness." At the same time, middle-class, mostly Protestant housewives with few or no children of their own and too much time on their hands used the COS machinery to extend their "housekeeping functions" into the community at large. Not by coincidence, the common objects of their interventions were the large, immigrant

Mr. Carlson is president of the Rockford Institute in Illinois. His most recent book is From Cottage to Work Station: The Family's Search for Social Harmony in the Industrial Age *(Ignatius).*

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Catholic families pouring into the Northeast. Enjoying "police powers" in most states after 1865, these so-called Visitors often took children into their own possession in order to "save" them from the "shiftless habits" of their natural parents. Mary Richmond, whom Olasky quotes with favor a number of times, was a leader in this construction of an intrusive new "woman's profession," one still wreaking havoc in immigrant and blue-collar homes.

At the same time, Olasky backs away from the logical anti-statist implications of his own argument. As he shows, the COS movement was strongly opposed to any governmental involvement in charity, wisely recognizing the corrupting effects of state money and regulations. However, when he turns to policy solutions, his central recommendation is a $2,500 tax credit for taxpayers giving $3,000 or more (in money or time) to "groups that provide direct social services to the poor." But this is, in practice, merely another form of government funding, where the regulatory problems are still considerable. (They include answering questions such as: What "groups" qualify? Who decides what "groups" practice effective compassion? State revenue agencies? The IRS? Do "prevention"-oriented groups, like the Boy Scouts, qualify? How does one keep a time record for one-on-one contacts? Given the considerable size of the tax benefit, how do we investigate or control the inevitable "compassion rackets"?) Olasky quietly explains the loss of faith in the spontaneous order by a reference to original sin. Perhaps he is also aware of the polling data showing a recent sharp drop in average weekly church attendance, from 46 per cent in 1991 to 37 per cent this year (among the Baby Boomers, from 42 to 31 per cent), a sign of a declining *voluntary* base for action.

Olasky's general prescriptions—that the poor are best aided within a community, that personal contact between giver and recipient is a key to success, that moral reformation is better than redistributed cash, that religious belief sustains commitment—are sound. But it is troubling to see them grounded on nineteenth-century proto-Progressivism. We should look instead to the example of true saints—such as General William Booth (founder of the Salvation Army) or Mother Teresa—who, without a tax credit and forsaking all else, followed in the steps of Christ, loving the unlovable and serving the unworthy. □

Feminism and Its Illusions

ELIZABETH POWERS

A COLLEAGUE recently told me he was a feminist. "That's interesting," I thought. "I'm not."

That wasn't always the case. Like Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, I came of age with feminism. Like her, I deviated from the movement, though for me the deviation has been total. I now regard

"Feminism Is* Not *the Story of My Life": How Today's Feminist Elite Has Lost Touch with the Real Concerns of Women, by Elizabeth Fox-Genovese (Doubleday, 275 pp., $23.95)

"feminism" as I do Marxism: a dead ideology of no use in explaining how the world works. Thus, the title of this book strikes me as an epitaph not only for radical feminism but also for feminism as such. The eloquent Mrs. Fox-Genovese, author of the important *Feminism without Illusions*, prefers to see herself as a kind of feminist Luther: in a series of interviews with contemporary American women which measure the disparity between what radical feminists say about women's lives and what ordinary women know about their own lives, this accessible work intends to expose the corruption that perverted "true" feminism.

Yet the problems with feminism were there from the start. The movement claimed to be for all women, but in fact it benefited—or seemed to benefit—some women more than others. Feminists insisted on the absolute equality of the sexes, and asserted that this must translate into high salaries for women lawyers, accountants, and TV reporters. The real motivation behind this demand now appears to have been more complicated than merely a concern for abolishing unfairness. The feminists wanted to abolish something else, too. The key difference between men and women is that women bear children. It is this difference that feminists secretly wanted to do away with, since it obstructs economic equality. This explains why abortion, a persistent subject of this book's early chapters, has been the ground on which feminists have fought their fiercest battles; for the absolute right to abortion is a crucial wedge between women and motherhood.

Professional women who can afford nannies have in some sense succeeded in liberating themselves from mothering. The children of these women suffer for the sake of their mothers' careers, but a $100,000-a-year salary can go a long way toward easing a mother's guilt. As Mrs. Fox-Genovese documents, however, women outside the elite, whether single mothers or those with haphazard child-care arrangements, can rely on no such emotional buffer. They suffer as much as their families do.

Elite women wanted to enter the professions because they believed such work would bring them the same sense of achievement, of meaningfulness in life, that men seem to enjoy. What distinguishes this female elite from its male counterpart is the extent to which the women in it see themselves as burdened by traditional ideas about motherhood and family, ideas that interfere with professional advancement. This explains the heavy investment radical feminists have made in seeking to delegitimate those old-fashioned virtues.

Thus, the threat posed by feminism to traditional values cannot be overstated, and Mrs. Fox-Genovese writes with great nuance about the relationship of feminism to the sexual revolution. She is so delicate, in fact, that it was never totally clear to me whether she thinks the changes in morals set in motion in the 1960s have been for the better or the worse. In her early chapters, for instance, Mrs. Fox-Genovese writes about the bonds that females share, shown by the stories we tell one another, which (as she acknowledges) argue for an essentialist view of women: we are different from men. A woman's role in life must therefore be different from a man's. But how does a girl learn to be a woman, when tradition has been made so radically suspect? How do

Miss Powers, who teaches in the Humanities Department at Manhattan School of Music, has just completed her fourth novel.

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women learn, for instance, to be good mothers? How do they learn to say no to men?

The undermining of tradition has had other effects. Take male violence, especially violence toward women, which feminists insist is on the rise. As the Studs Terkel–like portraits in this book indicate, most women are more subtle than the typical arch-feminist in their attitudes toward men, recognizing the interdependence of the sexes rather than seeing some innate mutual hostility between them. It is one of a woman's natural instincts to want a husband who will support her—both emotionally and financially. Might there not be a connection here? Might not men's aggressiveness have a natural function (as does women's nurturing) that, under the direction of civilization, is channeled into acceptable outlets—like competing with other men in the marketplace in order to make enough money to provide for a family? Women's traditional role in the civilizing of men is under attack by feminists. Perhaps it isn't surprising that men have become increasingly inclined toward violence.

Though Mrs. Fox-Genovese understands that women must depend on men, violent or not, she takes it as an inescapable given that wives have to work nowadays in order to supply the basic needs of their families. A conservative might respond by saying that this situation was not at all inevitable. Lower taxes and thus more take-home pay would allow one spouse to stay home and provide the attention kids need. And surely the mass entrance of women into the job market has had a depressing effect on wages and the availability of jobs in general.

I do see one positive outcome of feminism. An important trend documented here concerns the adjustments the non-elite have had to make under the pressure of economic necessity. It has become increasingly difficult to support a family, at least in the style to which our middle class has been accustomed, on the income of a single worker. So men with working wives are now packing lunches and taking kids to school; boys are learning to iron. From this book a picture emerges of families becoming partnerships in the way that, historically, families always did in order to survive.

Yet this hardly compensates for the damage done by feminism. Is anything to be salvaged from this mess? Mrs. Fox-Genovese thinks so, but the most important evidence of her book is that the majority of Americans have long done without the benefits of feminism and will continue to do so when it is as passé as Marxism. □

Manners Make the Man

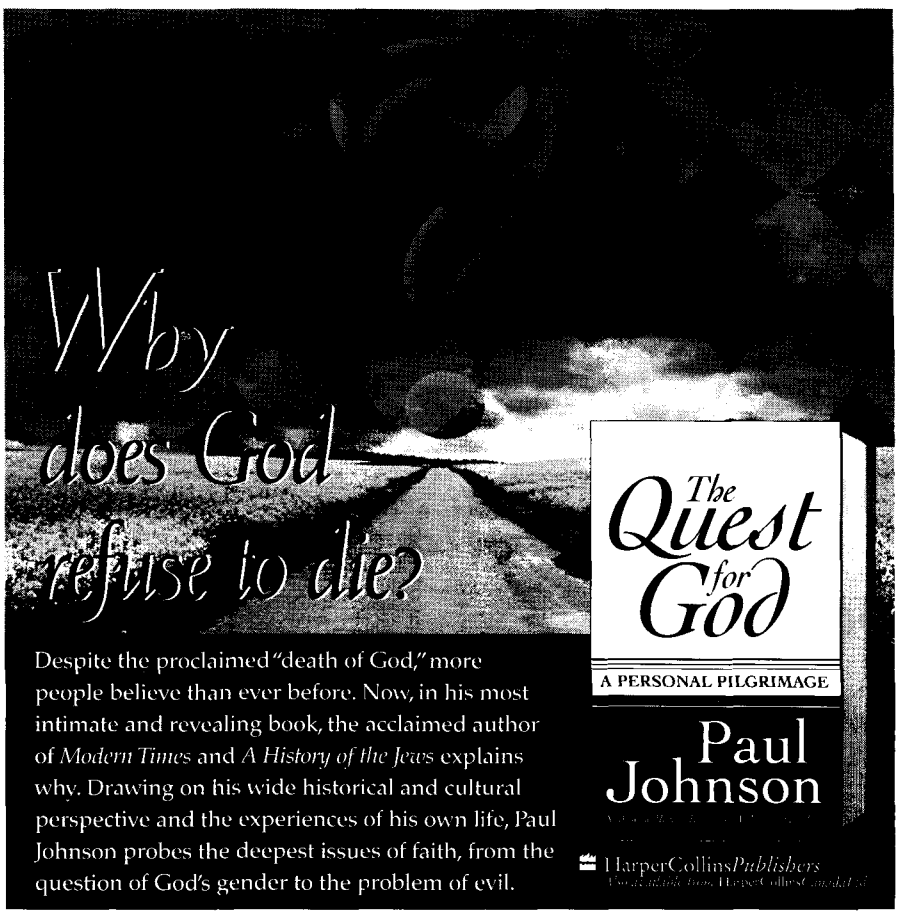
DIGBY ANDERSON

IN *We Believe*, a book that has attracted something of a cult among conservative Catholics, Monsignor Gilbey writes, "Have you considered that you might not have *liked* Jesus Christ Our Lord . . . His table manners, His method of conducting an argument, His treatment of His Blessed Mother"? The point, impishly made, is that, as a thorough-going man of His time and place, He used not, I think, the "manners" but the etiquette of that time and place. Christ had perfect manners. His etiquette we would have found odd. In *The Passion and Death of Our Lord Jesus Christ* Archbishop Goodier singles out, from among all the other virtues displayed by Christ during the last week of His Life, His manners, especially his courtesy to the wayward disciples. And figures such as C. S. Lewis and John Henry Newman have showed the relation of manners, morals, and character. Such writers would have been astounded at the notion that manners are some small and trivial thing.

Mr. Anderson is the editor of This Will Hurt *(National Review Books).*

Multicultural Manners: New Rules of Etiquette for a Changing Society, by Norine Dresser (Wiley, paperback, 285 pp., $14.95)

Miss Manners Rescues Civilization, by Judith Martin (Crown, 538 pp., $30)


Why does God refuse to die?
Despite the proclaimed "death of God," more people believe than ever before. Now, in his most intimate and revealing book, the acclaimed author of Modern Times and A History of the Jews explains why. Drawing on his wide historical and cultural perspective and the experiences of his own life, Paul Johnson probes the deepest issues of faith, from the question of God's gender to the problem of evil.
The Quest for God
A PERSONAL PILGRIMAGE
Paul Johnson
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Approach it another way. There is said to be a crisis in our civilization not least in the area of "law and order." Commentators then go on to list the crime rate as evidence and point to public concern. But, I wonder, should the public be more concerned about the burglary a man suffered four years ago or the countless daily "trivial" acts of rudeness, harshness, and confusion in the street, the store, and even the home? Is it just a crisis of law or is it a crisis of order as well? For manners—settled, peaceful, predictable, courteous, self-restrained habits—are a crucial part of social order.

The point is simple but so lost today: individual acts of manners may be little things, but there are lots of them, and together they are a very big thing indeed. They are like a grammar: a nuisance to learn, but once they are learned, our common fluency in them gives us the freedom to interrelate in a predictable, easy, peaceful but individualistic way.

I don't think Norine Dresser understands what manners are about. She announces that she is a folklorist. She has an advanced degree in folklore. Her book is a huge inventory of how different ethnic and religious groups in the United States greet each other, celebrate, worship, eat, keep time, organize sex roles, give presents, dress, bring up children. The idea is that if we know these we can behave toward such people without offense or misunderstanding. The first problem is that she includes so many groups, from Cambodians through Haitians and Armenian Catholics to Gypsies, that each can only have the smallest space. Despite the protestations, perhaps because of them, what emerges is a trivialization of cultures. Two pages on what goes on in an Orthodox Jewish synagogue is insulting. If a stranger did want to attend, surely he would be prepared to make more of an effort than this—or none at all. This is cultural tourism, the equivalent of those tours of Europe with ten countries in ten days. And the little we do learn is, of necessity, surface phenomena, behavioral trivia, not the important manners behind them.

Judith Martin does understand manners. She knows for instance that manners contribute as much to social order as law. She knows what manners achieve, the predictability, peacefulness, and order. And she delights in the casuistry of manners, the application of principle to circumstance. Her book is a goldmine. It consists mostly of letters from her "Gentle Readers," and her responses, interspersed with essays. The letters are often amusing. The essays are very shrewd, but the responses are best of all. Miss Manners can be splendidly tough: "Dear Miss Manners, I am about to get married. [Is] it proper to include in both shower and wedding invitations a suggested gift list? I have most things and don't really need much."

"Gentle Reader, Well, whatever you do need, make yourself a nice list of it all. Then take it out and buy whatever is on the list. That is what shopping lists are for. . . . They are not sent to other people."

Another reader writes to ask about applause in church, as when a choir or solo is applauded. Swift and firm is the response. "Hard as it may be to imagine, musicians in church are supposed to play or sing for the glory of God, not the pleasure of the congregation . . . No applause . . . Not even for small children, who particularly need to have the purpose of their performance explained to them."

One of the rationales for Miss Dresser's hints is to help Americans say or do the right thing when faced with a different culture. Miss Manners sees things rather differently. A reader feels like an "Ugly American" with Japanese friends. For instance she found out that Japanese courtesy requires that a gift be refused three times before acceptance. Comes the reply: "One need not be ashamed of American behavior which, at its best, is free, generous and dignified. Japanese manners are more elaborate than American . . . but . . . not . . . better. In any case this is not a contest. Your Japanese friends understand there is a cultural difference and should be as interested in understanding our manners [as you theirs]. The manners of the country one is in usually prevail." Take that, Miss Dresser, and write it out one hundred times.

Judith Martin is right about so many things, about ladies' hats, white shoes, and "wearing advertisements." One tiny complaint. She recognizes the appalling mania for hugging and kissing for the unpleasantness it is. But she is not sufficiently robust, merely suggesting moving sideways and letting the effusive would-be splodger meet the wall. This kissing business is getting so out of hand that more drastic action is needed. I find it helps to explain, once one has moved out of the way, that in the Latin countries where this kissing business comes from, the more kisses exchanged (e.g., three per cheek) the lower the social class of the kissers.

Miss Manners deserves our thanks, if not our applause, for putting a subject of crucial importance back on the agenda in such an entertaining way. □

THEATER

Lowering the *Rent*

JAMES GARDNER

I HAVE this theory: in any given musical after 1970, there will come a moment in which the protagonist is on stage alone and sings the words, "Who am I?" This may be called the hokey-identity-crisis moment, when the character is torn between his principles and his self-interest, and tempted to take the easy way out, which threatens to damn his soul and shave twenty minutes off the second act.

In ***Rent***, the new great hope of the American musical theater, this does not happen—or at least not quite. The protagonist, Mark, an aspiring video artist who cannot pay his rent and has no electricity or food in his house, is offered a lucrative assignment from some cheesy network news magazine. Will he take the job and end his financial plight, or will he preserve his princi-

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ples—though we never quite learn what those are—and turn the job down? At this point, Mark, on the verge of accepting, turns to the audience and says, "What am I doing?" Then his roommate, Roger, an equally insolvent rock poet, comes on stage and asks, "Who are you?" Now since he has known Mark for years and is not suffering from any psychotic disorder, despite a healthy drug habit, we assume that this question is meant metaphorically.

My point: there seems to have been a tacit agreement among twenty or thirty powerful people on Broadway that *Rent* is to be the Next Big Thing and everyone else is docilely toeing the line. And yet, despite its studied hipness and its aspirations to be the voice of the Nineties, *Rent*, which is an updating of *La Bohème*, is pretty much the same old showbiz fare, though with almost formulaic inversions. Instead of boy meets girl, you now have girl meets girl and boy meets drag queen. The audience is almost explicitly invited to say, "Look at that! Lesbians. Say!" And whereas earlier generations acknowledged the archetype of the annoying mother-in-law, as in *Barefoot in the Park*, here one is beset with the Annoying Jewish Mother archetype who endeavors to stifle with self-centered affection the young hero's artistic ambitions. Then there's the overbearing landlord with the heart of gold, who, in a cutesy reversal of type, is a black yuppie. Combine that with myriad references to AZT, Prozac, and Pee Wee Herman and you can positively hear the Generation Xers in the audience as they "relate." The low point in this process comes in the form of Mark's nutty ex-girlfriend, Maureen. Protesting the landlord's desire to transform their tenement into a studio space, she does a performance piece which we know we are supposed to find silly, though in fact it is not much sillier than the rest of the musical. Well, at one point Maureen imitates a cow (I forget why) and delivers what is perhaps the one genuinely funny line in the play, "C'mon. Moo with me!" This would be fine except that then, sure enough, the majority of the terminally hip audience started lowing like a stable of prize Guernseys.

As for the music, it is standard rock fare of the sort that pleases some people more than me. For what it's worth, I found myself enjoying *Hair* and *Jesus Christ Superstar*, also rock operas, far more than I did this, which means that I am not totally averse to the art form. The staging, furthermore, seems surprisingly drab and lifeless, an impression that the dull, vaguely industrial set does little to mitigate.

Like most people who saw *Rent*, I was expecting a great deal, since the musical had won the Pulitzer Prize and had been praised by all and sundry. Furthermore, knowing the genuinely tragic circumstances of the life and death of the author, Jonathan Larsen, his having waited on tables in obscurity for years while struggling in vain to get his musical produced, and then dying at age 35 of an aortic aneurysm the day it was supposed to open—I wanted to like the play. And I was and remain sincerely happy for the author that all these people, who probably wouldn't even have tipped him properly if he had waited on their tables, were now clamoring to get the few remaining tickets, not to mention the few remaining *Rent* T-shirts and *Rent* buttons that were being hawked at the entrance.

But I found that I could never get past what seemed to be the essential bad faith of the musical, its trying to be the *Hair* of the Nineties. You just know that the chorus that ends the first act, "*La Vie Bohème*," wants desperately to be taken as the anthem of some nonexistent youth movement. But the bohemian life glorified in *Rent* looks no more vital than it did before, and Broadway itself, whose fortunes this musical was said to revive, appears about as moribund as ever. □

SOUND ON DISC

Hear to Stay

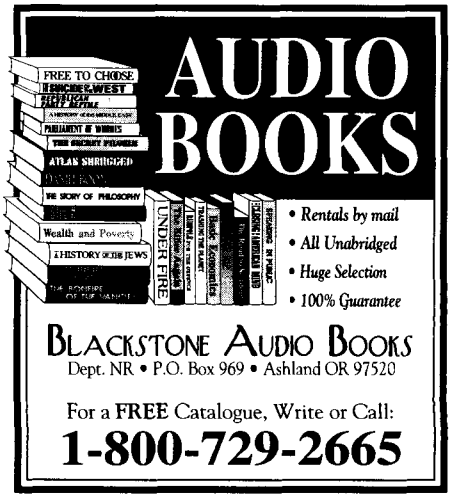
RALPH DE TOLEDANO

IF memory serves me, I first heard a Béla Bartók composition in a recording of *Contrasts*, a work he wrote for Benny Goodman and Joseph Szigeti. Since then, I have heard a good deal of Bartók's music, and I have no doubt that he challenged Stravinsky and left the sterilities of Arnold Schoenberg far behind. Bartók was a post-modernist romantic, seized by emotion and melody—as Stravinsky was a post-modernist classicist. These labels are, of course, meaningless. Of significance is what is on the score and what reaches the ear. So I would venture to say that a half-dozen decades from today, Béla Bartók will be a far more important part of our musical heritage than those whose elbows were sharper, while others of his contemporaries will be all but forgotten.

If you doubt it, I urge you to listen to Bartók's Violin Concertos Nos. 1 & 2, as recorded by Isaac Stern and, respectively, Eugene Ormandy and Leonard Bernstein (Sony SMK 64502). The first was written in 1908, the second in 1938. It goes without saying that Stern is superb in tone, phrasing, and the other tangibles of great performance. But what is most interesting is that one concerto blends into the other as if they had been written in close sequence. Meanwhile, the Concerto for Orchestra, written two years before his death in 1945, demonstrates that there can be deep emotional and melodic content in the reaches of atonality (Philips 442783-2). This is a gripping, magnificent work, certainly Bartók's greatest, and it is fully realized in its traversal by Seiji Ozawa and the Boston Symphony.

■ "My sole ambition as a composer is to hurl my javelin into the infinite space of the future," Franz Liszt remarked, at

Mr. Toledano is the author of Frontiers of Jazz *and many other books.*



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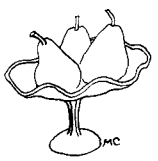
the same time describing himself as "a mixture of gypsy and Franciscan." That javelin struck Bartók's creative *corpus*, but it also buried itself in the meat of musical history. Among critics, only Jacques Barzun—to whose knowledge, intuitions, and aperçus those of us who approach music are forever indebted—has properly acknowledged the greatness of Liszt as innovator and composer. Yet anyone who listens to his concertos, the ultimate in the symbiosis of piano and orchestra, must be obliged to offer Liszt's work a place in the pantheon along with Beethoven's Fourth and Fifth. Here is statement and drama, harmony and melody, and—forgive me, dear reader, sensibility and passion. The No. 1 in E Flat (and Mozart has told us what a great key that is) and the No. 2 in A are now with us in a recording by Sviatoslav Richter, the London Symphony Orchestra, and conductor Kirill Kondrashin (Philips 466 200-2). Given my druthers, I would have preferred Paul Badura-Skoda—who brings both technique and intellectual depth to his every performance—as soloist. But Richter has a certain power which drives everything before it. Liszt is difficult to play and easy to listen to—and he reaches his listeners at every intellectual level.

■ Once upon a time it was considered slightly outré—like singing Verdi with a hurdy-gurdy—to respond to Tchaikovsky. This has changed, so I need not apologize for recommending Mstislav Rostropovich's recording, with the London Philharmonic, of Tchaikovsky's Symphonies 1 through 6 (EMI 7243 5 65709 2 4). Indeed Tchaikovsky was a completely respectable composer—and if he was sometimes over-florid, well, that's a characteristic of the Russians and does not make them inferior to the Germans. Tchaikovsky was wonderfully rich in the melodic—and his harmonics and dynamics reach down to where many of us live. Rostropovich, Tchaikovsky's fellow Russian, does not merely wave a baton at a recording session, and we feel his empathy. A Russian friend once said to me, "In Russia, when you talk to a general, shut up!" Rostropovich says, "When you listen to the way I conduct Tchaikovsky, enjoy!"



■ It is another thing with Anton Bruckner. His music, one critic tells us, "appeared simple and unadventurous, yet his unsophisticated nature was to produce gigantic compositions." Perhaps Bruckner, born of peasant stock, was "unadventurous." His work derived directly from Beethoven, and was influenced to a small degree by Wagner. But where lack of sophistication comes into the musical equation, it is hard to tell. He wrote symphonies of great length, full of religious angst—and perhaps this is unfashionable today, but it is significant in any recording by Wilhelm Furtwängler, one of the very great conductors of the twentieth century. Furtwängler saw in Bruckner the "supertemporal" and wrote that "in his art, he was concerned with eternity." Eternity, of course, has nothing to do with musical excellence, and Bruckner was plagued by critics whose irreligiosity matched that of our times. His contemporaries had their revenge by making cuts in his music as then performed—the finale of his Fifth Symphony suffering the loss of 122 measures, which are present in this recording by Furtwängler (EMI 565750 2). A Catholic, Bruckner was not tortured, as was the converted Jew Mahler, by seeking in faith an answer to his mortal preoccupations. But those preoccupations are there, and they give richness and validity to his music. □

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BOOKS IN BRIEF

The Ambiguous Legacy of the Enlightenment, edited by William A. Rusher. (University Press of America, 223 pp. $28.50)

A DISTINGUISHED group of scholars, brought together by the Claremont Institute, discuss the limits of the scientific method and the intellectual tensions of the "age of reason." An age that rejected metaphysics in favor of clear and distinct ideas, argues Charles Kesler, thus undercut its own quest for self-knowledge and freedom. Only irrationalism and determinism could follow. Which lead, explain Gerhart Niemeyer and Ernest van den Haag, to the cult of self-assertion, and ideology. John Adams thought America had escaped the worst of it with a "common sense" not found among the *philosophes*. Yet, the Cartesian mathematization of nature still nips at all our humanity, as our lives are reduced to meaningless samiels of electromagnetic dust. Stanley Jaki offers hopeful words, but Kesler reminds us that despite their attacks on the Enlightenment, neither the Right nor the Left has been able to transcend it. A disturbing notion, among many in this fine collection.

—MATTHEW CAROLAN

Lime 5: Exploited by Choice, by Mark Crutcher (Life Dynamics, 318 pp., $19.95)

WHO needs back alleys when you can get the same gore in a Main Street "reproductive-health center"? You'll find the answer in this shocking, fascinating, and depressing book, which will shred anyone's complacency on abortion. Mining thirty years of court, medical, and newspaper reports, Mr. Crutcher uncovers what actually happens inside abortion clinics. His detached accounts of women's deaths, mutilations, filthy clinics, forced abortions, drunken, crazed, and sadistic abortionists, cold-blooded indifference to dying patients, stomach-churning "medicine" (e.g., doctors ending late-term abortions in mid procedure because the women can't pay more)—expose this "safe" procedure as anything but. The sheer volume of sorrow here seems beyond belief—except that it's all painstakingly documented. Crutcher's revelation that the federal Centers for Disease Control (its duties include compiling abortion statistics) is managed primarily by actual abortionists is the kind of story that should be worthy (dream on) of *60 Minutes*.

—JACK FOWLER

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SALTER
(Continued from page 47)

Foucault, feminism, and social constructionism that are united in their hostility to naturalistic conceptions of sex.

The culturalist twists given to human sexuality are, of course, fascinating and relevant to the study of society. But it is scientifically irresponsible to begin deconstructing a phenomenon before one has established as firm a description of it as possible. If sociology were a science, the *Dictionary* could have in the first instance drawn on the mainstream biological disciplines dealing with sex. Such an approach would describe the universal procreative and bonding functions of sex and of sexual signaling not only in humans but in other animals. Sociology could then ground its analysis of sexuality in firm knowledge gained from behavioral biology and evolutionary theory.

Consider, for example, what might have been achieved by a short entry under "hormones and behavior." Endocrinology offers knowledge vital for the study of gender, sex differences, sexuality, aggression, dominance, and hierarchy: it shows how all these behaviors are influenced by the hormonal balances in our bodies. The *Dictionary*'s decision to omit mention of hormonal effects, however, is not hard to understand, because such discussion would cast serious doubt on so much of sociology's recent work on sexuality. It would suggest that the differences in sexual behavior between the sexes are not entirely the product of social processes but have biological roots as well.

Since man is simultaneously part of the natural and the social world, it is necessary to find a way to connect the natural and social sciences that seek to describe his behavior. Biology provides that bridge. Its strongest span is Darwin's theory of evolution, which reaches out to connect such diverse disciplines as genetics, biochemistry, demographics, physiology, and behavior. But rather than accept biology as a bridge to the natural sciences, sociologists spend a large part of their time rationalizing their failure to cross it. As a result, sociology today is like a decaying medieval city cut off from the rest of the world. It concentrates on rearranging the rubble within its walls rather than on rebuilding its structures with the ever more bountiful resources available outside. □

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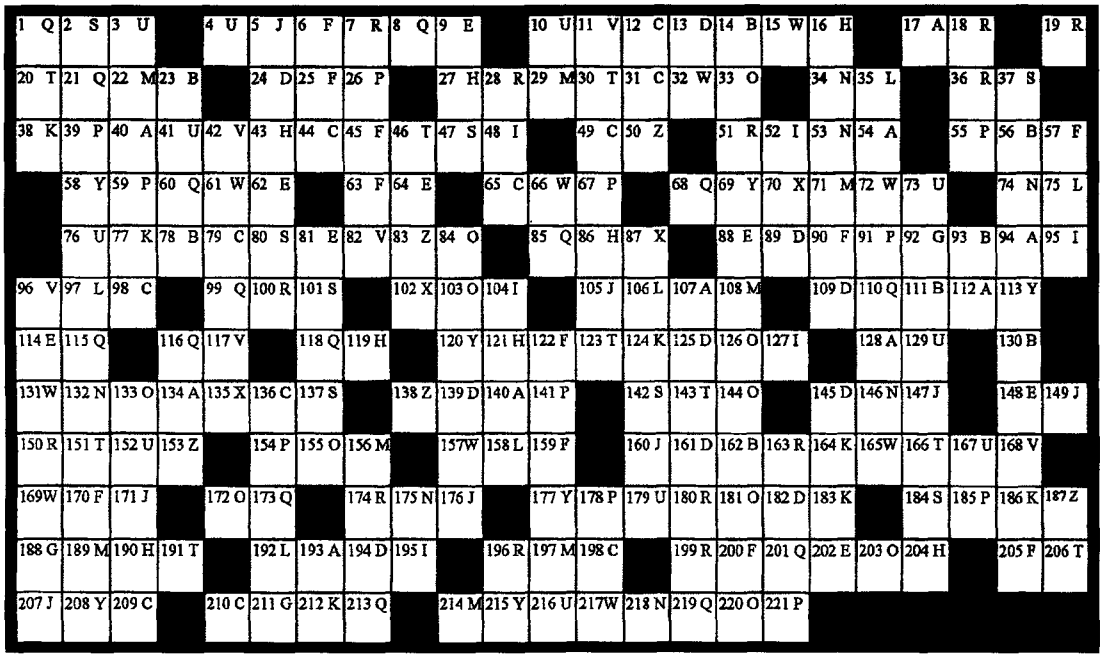
TRANS-O-GRAM / Siegfried R. Reiner



DEFINITIONS

A. Freed — 17 128 40 94 112 193 140 54 107 134

B. Votary of art and culture — 130 78 162 93 56 14 23 111

C. Tight fix (2 words) — 98 210 136 31 209 44 79 12 49 65 198

D. Drunk — 161 182 89 145 13 139 24 194 109 125

E. Coddled, pampered — 81 88 114 148 62 64 9 202

F. Haughty — 63 6 200 90 205 57 159 170 45 25 122

G. Leninism's concession to economics (1921–1928) — 211 92 188

H. Inclination, trend — 16 119 190 27 121 86 43 204

I. Botched — 195 95 48 52 104 127

J. Blew up — 171 147 149 207 105 5 176 160

K. This treaty ended War of Spanish Succession — 164 183 124 186 38 77 212

L. Brother's or sister's son — 35 75 106 158 97 192

M. Dauntless — 197 108 71 22 29 214 189 156

N. Minor prophet — 146 74 132 218 34 53 175

O. Host country to Maastricht accord — 133 126 33 103 181 144 203 172 155 84 220

P. Unstudied, candid (hyph.) — 39 91 221 59 141 67 154 185 55 178 26

Q. Gushing tour guide on the road to serfdom (2 words) — 115 21 118 116 85 110 68 213 8 219 201

99 60 173 1

R. Neptune's realm (3 words) — 174 196 100 36 7 163 19 51 18 199 28

150 180

S. Flower which sprang from the blood of Apollo's beloved — 142 37 137 184 80 47 101 2

T. The Rosenbergs' crime — 143 166 30 206 46 151 123 191 20

U. Image programmed to occupy inactive computer monitor (2 words) — 129 76 179 152 3 10 73 4 41 167 216

V. Paid church taxes — 96 42 117 82 11 168

W. Deification — 217 131 169 157 66 72 61 32 165 15

X. Handsome prince, under a spell — 102 135 70 87

Y. Where a river mouth and ocean tide meld — 208 177 69 58 215 120 113

Z. Native of Stockholm or Uppsala, for example — 50 138 83 153 187

DIRECTIONS

The object of TRANS-O-GRAM is to fill in the puzzle diagram by guessing the words from their definitions, and transferring each letter of the guessed word to the correspondingly numbered square in the diagram. When the diagram is filled in it will spell out a quotation from some published work (reading normally from left to right, black boxes indicating the ends of words); also, when the words have all been filled in above, their initial letters will spell out the author and the title (or topic) of the quoted work. The acrostic feature, and the relative word-lengths in the diagram, will assist in the solution. Spelling and definition on the authority of *Webster's Deluxe Unabridged Dictionary*, Second Edition.

Solution to last issue's Trans-O-Gram. SAMUEL ADAMS: *Law and Right*: "When men enter into society, it is by voluntary consent; and they have a right to demand and insist upon the performance of such conditions and previous limitations as form an equitable original compact."

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ON THE RIGHT / Wm. F. Buckley Jr.

Gingrich-Thought

NEW YORK, MAY 7

These are hard times for Newt Gingrich, as everybody concedes. A month ago the story was out that House members in troubled seats were discouraging any prospect of a visit by the Speaker to endorse their candidacies. On Saturday, a left-oriented comedian, performing at the annual White House Correspondents dinner, enjoyed himself and a (very) few others by making jokes about every aspect of Gingrich's life, including his 13-year-old daughter's rites of puberty.

What is accepted as the Dick Morris formula is paying off. Clinton's instructions are to sound like a conservative/moderate in his speeches, while pursuing the left agenda as Chief Executive. He adroitly exploits the Republican ambiguists in the House and in the Senate. *NR*'s Rich Lowry cites the debate over a welfare bill as an example. "By the time Senate moderates are through with it, [the bill] could actually produce a presidential signature rather than a veto. What to do? 'Here's what we lay out for ourselves,' complains one Senate aide. 'If we pass it and he signs it—we lose. If we pass it and he vetoes it—we didn't get anything done. And if we don't pass it, he can't veto it—but we're do-nothing. So, therefore, we lay out a scenario where whatever we do and whatever he does—we lose.' "

Most conservative analysts are closing in on the matter of taxes. Mr. Gingrich is of course in favor of reduced taxation, but the accent he has placed on a balanced budget has got in the way of a political crusade on the subject. It is correct that there is danger in coming out for tax cuts without corresponding spending cuts. But it is also correct that Mr. Clinton has succeeded in framing any tax-cut proposal as an assault on the poor. And when Mr. Gingrich decided on military action and laid down his siege, he discovered that the leader of the besieged had the critical megaphone in hand, which he used repeatedly to criticize the army outside the moat, whose soldiers got colder, and hungrier, and lonelier as they struggled—in the eyes of the American public—to deny students and old folks access to the Statue of Liberty and the Library of Congress.

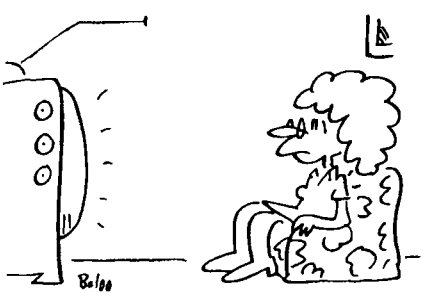
The conviction is growing that the way to go is with a resounding call for tax cuts. When asked what spending cuts he would endorse, the typical Republican will come up with a favorite target or two, and then go vague. Even Pat Buchanan, campaigning for President in 1992, could not come up with recommended cuts of more than 1 per cent. That's the kind of thing that happens to people who engage in political life, even if their name is Ronald Reagan. That's the reason so much of the public is saying: Give us a tax cut—and you figure out how and where to save the money. And at a more sophisticated level, there are those who are saying: Give us a tax cut with heavy emphasis on capital gains and please note the ensuing harvest. If Jack Kemp were omnipotent, he would cut taxes on productive activity and confidently predict that gross revenues would rise at least sufficient to make up the predicted revenue loss.

Newt Gingrich is overwhelmed by the political question. He has responsibilities not faced by opinion merchants. Thus on the minimum wage he makes his point, in order to stay on good terms with his philosophical network; but then capitulates, on the grounds that flesh-and-blood Americans who are running for re-election can't fight back against the charge that they would deny a worker a better wage than the current minimum.

Even so, it isn't only sedentary Republicans who believe the time has come for Mr. Gingrich to return to the theoretical fastness. In the last analysis, the vitality of the conservative movement has got to depend on the communicability of truths. It is an untruth that the minimum wage helps the very poor, and the question then becomes, Is this one of the battles on which we should weigh in? There are two points of view on this, but a reduction in taxes is increasingly accepted as indispensable to philosophical prosperity, as well as political success.

Newt Gingrich is greatly gifted. Maureen Dowd of the *New York Times* wrote over the weekend. "Is he impressed with the way Dick Morris has refashioned Mr. Clinton's image as mature centrist?"

"Laurence Olivier plays many roles," Gingrich replied. "If you stipulate somebody as a good actor, why should it surprise you when they act well? Is somebody who's always sincere ever sincere?" You can't do better than to think your way through to such observations, or to phrase them that way. Newt Gingrich will be around for a good while, and that is welcome news. □



"It's 10 p.m.—do you know where the Contract with America is?"

Stop! Thief!

NEW YORK, MAY 3

Jerry was rounding the corner, his arms full of potted plants. He spotted the rear end of the station wagon, parked on Madison and 73rd Street in Manhattan, and was startled to see the car beginning to move. He dropped the plants and ran toward the car, but it was now moving faster, and approaching from the rear was a huge van. Jerry raced to the end of the block and saw the driver turn and head toward 5th Avenue. He rushed to the telephone and called the police. A 1987 Buick station wagon. Connecticut plates. No, he didn't remember the license number but he'd get it in minutes and call it in.

Jerry returned, disconsolate, to the apartment, and told my wife her car had been stolen.

Word reached me quickly in Connecticut, where I was working. The first question: What was in the car? Answer: A bunch of mail from the office. Anything special about the mail? Well, yes, there were 280 individual letters addressed to the editor, commenting on NATIONAL REVIEW's recent proposal that, the war against drugs having been lost, the time had come to consider legalization. The other stuff was mostly unimportant—what mattered in it had been copied. So what was there to do?

Nothing. You look at it this way: If (I got the exact figure the next day)—if there are 72,000 car thefts in New York City every year, one of those, in due course, is going to be your car. If you have been driving in and out of the city for forty-odd years, the wonder of it is that your turn didn't come up earlier.

But then, progressively, other considerations mature in the mind.

—The replacement cost of a stolen car can be far from trivial. Insurance on this old model would bring in $5,000; replacement of it with a current model, five times that.

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—The car was the special love of my wife. It wasn't just any old car, but her gorgeous great station wagon into which she could fit one hundred potted plants; and they don't make the model any more.

—A shaft of ice water jets into your spirit. James Jackson Kilpatrick wrote some years ago about being mugged. It was, as these things go, a clean operation. The blow knocked him out of action, the wallet was taken, and a few minutes later he was physically whole. But he felt pulsations of indignation, the special fright and resentment that comes from rude reminders of the vulnerability of everything we depend upon, from elevators to safety on the street to parked cars. Kilpatrick confessed to an overnight depression over the meaning of it. I began to understand.

—You wonder about the aggressor. What are his prospects? You shake up your research resources. There were 1.5 million cars stolen last year, 169,000 arrests. Ten per cent, roughly. How many convictions? Nobody knows. More accurately, nobody I know, knows. Herbert Stein, that very morning, had written in the *Wall Street Journal* that the primary plague of the very poor in America isn't lack of food, shelter, or medicine. It is the heightened exposure to crime, drugs, miseducation, and the absence of a parent. All of this doesn't combine to make you suddenly lighthearted at the relative levity of your loss, but perspectives are always useful. . . .

The next morning, a phone call. Across the street, the civic-minded man reported, he had seen a car, its door left open. He idled over to it, found on the front seat a little address book with Jerry's name on it and his telephone number. He recited the license number. "Is that your car?"

Jerry was there, in the Bronx, in a half hour. Very strange. The car was intact except that the shaft on the steering wheel had been broken, to fetch out the wires that needed to be fused to start the car. Two hubcaps and the spare tire were gone. Two hundred eighty letters to the editor were intact.

"Funny," I said to Jerry when the car limped in, "risking a couple of years in jail to get two hubcaps and a spare tire."

Jerry has been around and he knows the conventions of the street. He doesn't waste words; getting to the point is Jerry Garvey's specialty. "He didn't risk much."

"What if he had been caught?"

"Probably would have been let go."

Maybe that's why it's so hard—impossible?—to get the figures. How many of the 10 per cent of those who steal cars and are arrested are prosecuted? Sent to jail?

Moral? Get whatever it is they talk about that you stick in the car and it slows down the thief. If the thief is a cadet from the Naval Academy at Annapolis, at least if you slow him down you'll make him late for class. □

Internet—Go with It?

NEW YORK, APRIL 30

Once in every decade, I have pledged, I will publicly recall that many years ago I asked the question, in this space, Of what use is a computer to the individual American? Since I framed that profound thought, a hundred million computers have been bought, and no one became more dependent on a computer than such as me, working journalists and book writers. Professor Arthur Schlesinger, whose manners and habits are in every respect traditional, quite matter-of-factly gave his opinion that the word processor is the most valuable invention of his lifetime, not counting the New Deal. Only those dispute this who, 150 years ago, would have declined to use the typewriter.

And now, of course, we are hearing about the Internet as jubilantly and expectantly as, back then, we were hearing about the computer and word processing. With appropriate humility, given the last prediction, I—wonder.

There is no doubting that the material is there, even as we recall the scientist a generation ago who ventured that every decade the sheer volume of factual data doubles. That would mean that there is 16 times as much information out there as in 1956. Librarians are bowed down by the weight of it all, but cheered by the diminishing problem of where to store it. One futurist, over the weekend, estimated that before too long the entire contents of the Library of Congress—some 16 million volumes—would fit onto a single disk the size of a CD. So maybe, in so buoyant a season, it's time for a little skepticism. The key question is of course: How do you find what you are looking for?

Eighteen months ago, apropos of something or another, I needed to know what were the years Thomas Jefferson spent in Paris as ambassador. It happened that before I could rise and walk over to the encyclopedia, the expert arrived at my door who had generously scheduled an introductory hour of tutoring with the Internet. After we had installed the software I said to him: Please show me how to find out when Jefferson was in Paris.

One hour later, we still didn't have the answer. I dismissed the problem as an individual shortcoming: there was something about my tutor that declined to fuse to Jefferson-in-Paris. But then one year later I was in similar circumstances, taking a quickie lesson at the Cyber Café in New York City. It was opening day and demonstrations were being made, and I asked my expert, himself an entrepreneur in the Cyber Café, to show me how to find out about Jefferson in Paris. . . . A half hour later, without a fix on the years, he had to turn to concerns of his other clients.

Then last winter, en route to an assembly, I listened to my host who quietly but enthusiastically spoke about the uses to him of the Internet. I broke in with my story about the search for Jefferson and he was downcast, as if he had heard the whisper that his daughter had become a bachelor sport. He expressed muted surprise and when, two hours later, I returned to my hotel, I found a note under my door. On it were scratched the years Jefferson was in France as ambassador (1784–1789); and, attached to the note, a printout of the exercises the Internet had gone through to find this out. The procedures did not seem complicated, but then if you hit successive notes slowly, one after another, you can with one finger tap out Liszt's "Hungarian Rhapsody." The trick is fluency: to know almost instinctively where to put down your fingers.

I asked my friend the following day how he had acquired his skill, and he told me he had taken a course on how to use the Internet. It comprised sixteen hours of coaching, in two fortnights of eight hours each. He pulled out, he said, at the end of the first fortnight, on the grounds that he'd learned everything he would want to learn. But that was a great deal, and in his profession as a banker, he used the Internet four or five times every day for sundry purposes. He classified it as the brightest star in the innovative galaxy.

What are we to make of this? It's entirely possible that there are more Internet subscribers today than there will be two or three years from now, even if, a generation from now, almost everyone subscribes. The glamor and the publicity bring people in in droves, even though for many of them (many of us) the on-line services we dutifully install lie dormant, week after week, month after month. The reason for it is simple fear. Not only a fear of complexity (a pencil is relatively straightforward!), but a fear of the instrument's seductiveness. Suppose that a genie touched down a wand on your head and suddenly you could play anything on the piano. One result of that endowment would be the prospect, in the years ahead, of hundreds and hundreds of hours being spent at the piano, during which you would not—be doing what?

Waal, all those *other* things that keep us busy. □

(Universal Press Syndicate)

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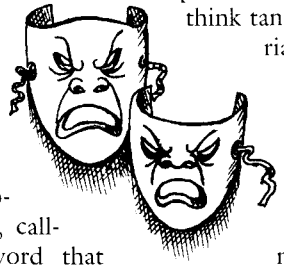
THE MISANTHROPE'S CORNER

FLORENCE KING

GAY marriage is a consummation devoutly to be missed, but it's a dead cert. If you doubt it, try to remember the last time America turned down a vocal minority. In the Sixties we were the Girl Who Can't Say No, but she was a font of virtue compared to what we are now. Overcome by the miasmic gases of diversity and inclusion wafting from the Nineties swamp, we have turned into the Punchdrunk Kid, a twitching lummox with cauliflower ears who mumbles "Sure, Jake, sure" to everybody.

The preliminary stage of brainwashing is already underway. "Husband" and "wife" are yielding to "spouse," a vague usage that benefits no one but gays. Gov. Roy Romer recently vetoed Colorado's proposed anti–gay marriage law, calling it "mean-spirited," a word that functions in America like the bell in Pavlov's laboratory. And now Bill Clinton has announced, through his gay-liaison office, that he is "personally opposed" to homosexual marriage. This phrasecology, a staple of the abortion debate, is a reminder not to let our premises stand in the way of our conclusions.



The major brainwashing, soon to begin, will proceed as follows.

Magazines will run cover stories that thinking Americans—all 17 of us—recognize as that brand of persuasion called "nibbled to death by a duck." *Time* does "Debating Same-Sex Marriage" and *Newsweek* does "Rethinking Gay Marriage." Lofty opinion journals weigh in with "A Symposium on," "In Defense of," and "Voices from," while *Parade* does "If They Say 'I Do' . . . Will We Say 'You Can't?'" Cover art consists of a pair of wedding rings sporting identical biological signs: two arrow-shooting circles for men, two mirror-handle circles for women. We will start seeing these logos in our sleep.

Next, the pundits. Molly Ivins writes "Bubba, Hold Yore Peace." Ellen Goodman waxes earnest about tradition *versus* change in "Something Old, Something New," Ruth Shalit writes something borrowed, and Richard Cohen, Victim America's identifier-in-chief, does a column called "We're All Single."

Arianna Huffington will figure out a compassionate way to be against gay marriage, but most conservatives stand to fare badly in this debate. Will Durant wrote, "When religion submits to reason it begins to die." In a media-saturated society teeming with talk-show producers casting dragnets over think tanks, proponents of gay marriage win merely by being scheduled. By contrast, the conservative instinctively recoils from analyzing eternal verities. He may know the words to legal arguments such as "the need to show a compelling state interest, etc." but he doesn't know the tune. In the final analysis he believes in the sanctity of marriage "just because."

To liberals, the just-because mindset betokens racism. Therefore, anyone who opposes gay marriage must hate blacks. Anti–gay marriage laws will be equated with the old anti-miscegenation laws, producing tortured sophistry about "the difference between race and sex." The liberal will claim that all differences are the same, forcing the conservative to claim that some differences are more different than others. Caught in an Orwellian trap, terrified of being called a racist, he will seek safety in a soundbite of chortling folksiness.

"When a baby is born, people don't say 'it's white' or 'it's black,' they say 'it's a boy' or 'it's a girl.'"

Because this makes no sense, it becomes instantly popular. Repeated incessantly on talk shows, it starts running through our heads like the beat-beat-beat of the tom-toms in "Begin the Beguine," intensifying when Bob Dole soundbites it into a back-to-basics vision of blood and sex and whatever in a prime-time press conference.

Then Jesse Jackson and the feminists change the word order, ostentatiously placing "black" before "white" and "girl" before "boy." Remembering to say it the PC way becomes such an overriding obsession that we forget what it has to do with gay marriage, especially after Clarence Page points out that in slave days the color of a baby was indeed the first thing people noticed.

Soon, Republicans panicked by mounting accusations of racism suggest that gay couples be allowed to register their unions and establish common-law marriages based on seven years of cohabitation. But gays reject these half measures, comparing them to the irregular marriages of slavery, when couples "jumped over the broom."

All attempts at compromise elicit cries of "Second-class marriage!" and lead to lawsuits under the Americans with Disabilities Act. Calling themselves "connubially challenged," gays will sue the Christian Coalition for forcing them to lead immoral lives. Arguing that marriage will keep them from promiscuity, which will keep them from getting AIDS, they will equate prohibition of same-sex marriage with capital punishment. A Clinton judicial appointee will find the "right" to gay marriage lurking under a constitutional penumbra, and CNN will give a 900 number so viewers can vote yes to prove they aren't racists.

I FIND it ironic that gays are now singing the praises of wedded bliss in terms that were the bane of my existence forty years ago, when "settling down" proved you were "mature and responsible." If they keep it up, they will corroborate the English prostitute who plied her trade in the States and wound up in a book about American sexual attitudes. A great many of her clients, she said, showed her photos of their wives and children. Clearly bemused, her sigh almost audible on the page, she added: "Yanks are born married."

My personal opinion of marriage reflects my status as a pariah in the Fifties snuggery of joined-at-the-hip Togetherness. "Rather a beggar woman and single be, than Queen and married," said Elizabeth I, and so say I. My objective opinion, however, conforms with Timothy Dwight: "It is incomparably better that individuals should suffer than that an institution, which is the basis of all human good, should be shaken or endangered." □

Miss King is the author of The Florence King Reader *and other books.*

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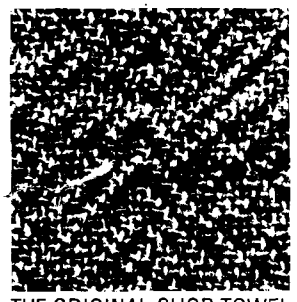

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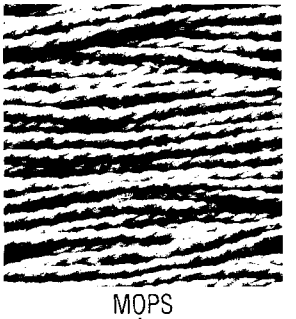

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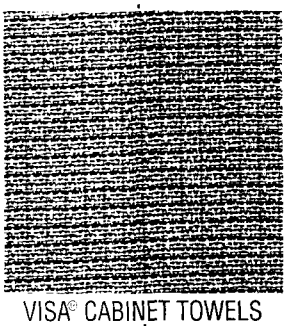

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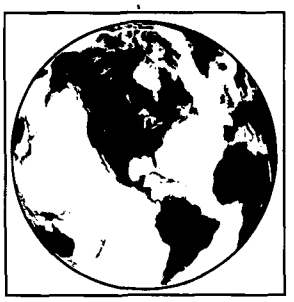

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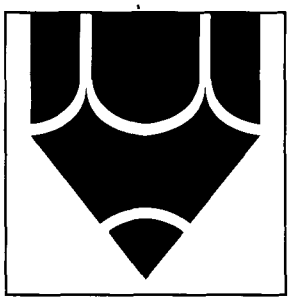

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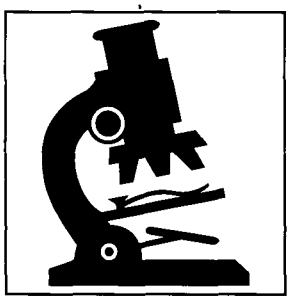

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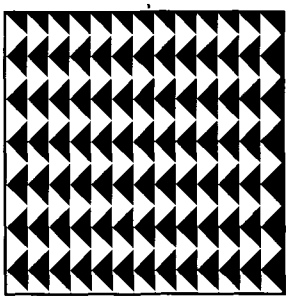

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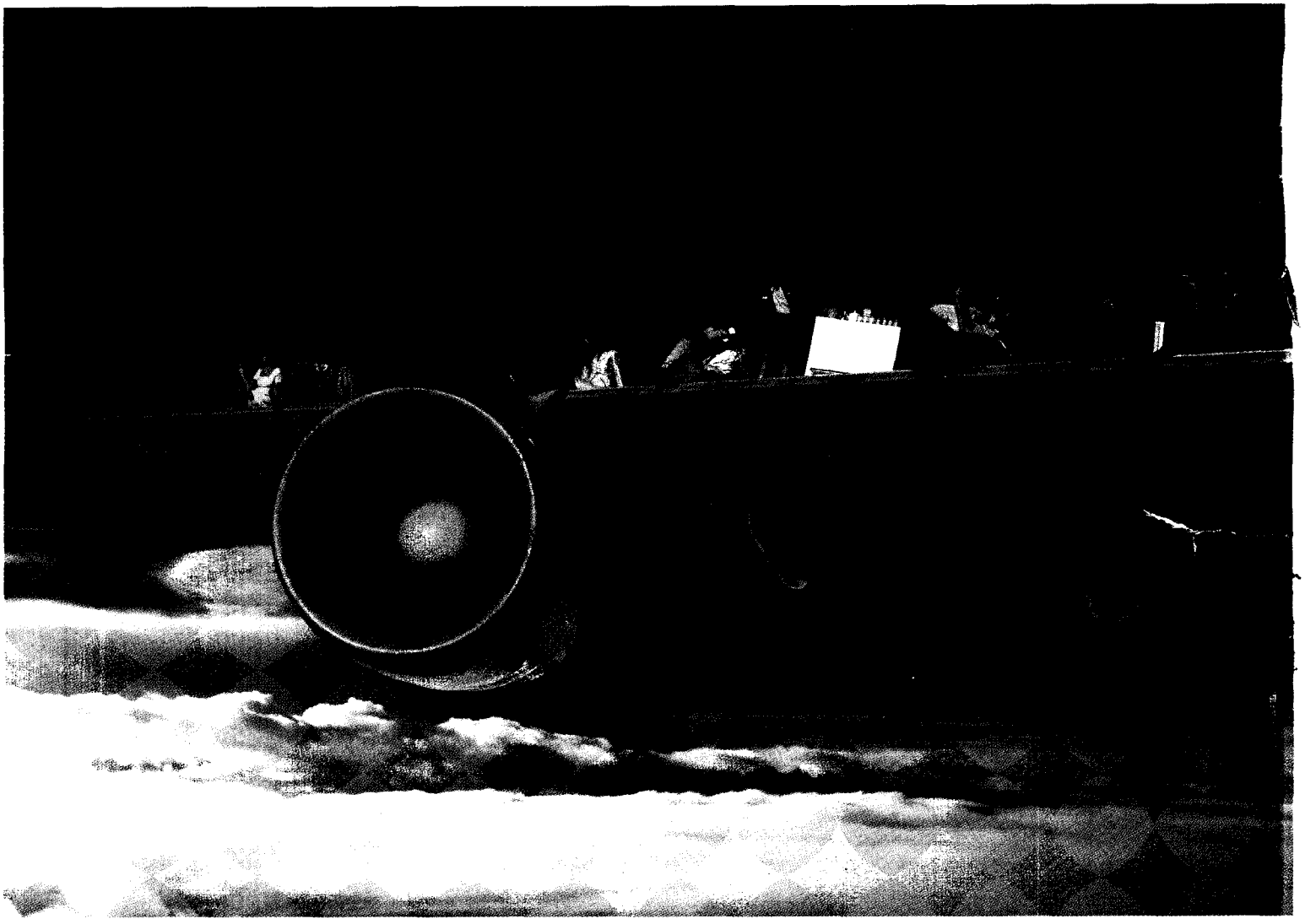

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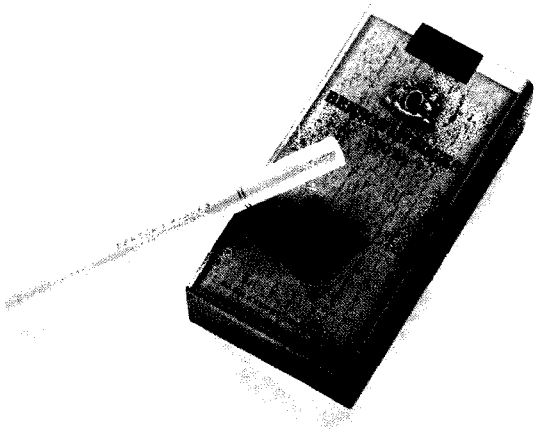

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